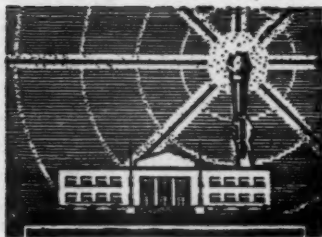


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JANUARY, 1954

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The Social Studies

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As the Editor Sees It

As the Velde Committee moves about the country investigating subversive activities among the nation's teachers, many disturbing questions are raised in the minds of the public and the profession alike. Social studies teachers in particular may become uneasy and wonder what they should do about the teaching of economic and political topics. Laymen see on television and read in the papers the unappetizing impression made by those teachers who have been found suspect and have sought hasty and frantic refuge in the shelter of the Fifth Amendment. Justice Douglas talks of "witch hunts," while the head of a veterans' group withdraws his children from the schools. Some condemn the House Committee's activities as a Roman holiday for political purposes, while others insist that the public hearings are the only way to focus attention on Red infiltration. It is little wonder that teachers themselves may be confused about how to act or how to interpret these things to their pupils.

The truly loyal American, who loves his country and believes whole-heartedly in what it has always stood for, should not find it too difficult to locate solid ground in the morass. He takes as his basic assumption the belief that the doctrines and principles expressed by our Constitution and by the great Americans of the past are right, and worthy of preservation at all costs. Consequently he regards as a traitor any citizen who seeks to subvert these principles and this society on behalf of any foreign power. This is very different from open, internal dissension or disagreement. The latter is itself an American right, but the citizen who embraces an alien interest as an ally against his own country's institutions commits the greatest of all political sins. There are few more despicable figures in all history than the betrayers.

In a world where there exists an organized political system inimical to America's welfare and to that of mankind generally, no loyal American should be reluctant to declare his loyalty if called upon. Granted that Congress-

sional committees, being composed of mere men like ourselves, may act in ways less than divine, the duty of Congress and the Executive to protect this nation by uncovering its traitors cannot be questioned. The loyal citizen who refuses to testify to that loyalty before any legal authority, in the mistaken belief that in so doing he is advancing the cause of liberty, is doing a disservice both to himself and to his country.

The Fifth Amendment was placed in the Bill of Rights for a specific purpose. It is to prevent the government from compelling a guilty person to provide his own noose. Any person who is questioned concerning his actions and who invokes the Amendment is in effect saying, "You must prove what you think without any help from me." This is his right, but he cannot use it and still insist that he be held in public favor. An innocent person has no reason to fear telling his Government what he knows; only the guilty need the shield of the Fifth Amendment.

The teacher who is truly and sincerely American, and who understands the falsity and evil of both Communism and Fascism, should have little cause to worry about how to teach. His own beliefs will lead him naturally; no teacher can meet with children day after day and teach one philosophy while believing another. That is the very point which makes the presence of Communist teachers in our schools so dangerous; they could not be harmless even if they would.

Let no one concern himself that a few disloyal Americans shield themselves by the Bill of Rights. They are still unmasked and public opinion may do to them what the law cannot. Let us remember that to the Communist and Fascist the Bill of Rights is abhorrent; it represents a concept of human dignity which they reject in principle even while they hide behind it. It would be insane to burn down the house to destroy the rats within it. Rather let us be more alert to drive them out; they can do little harm in the open.

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The Social Studies

VOLUME XLV, NUMBER 1

JANUARY, 1954

Lord John Morley And the Russian Menace

ELLEN PEAREY

North High School, Omaha, Nebraska

When the complete history of the twentieth century is written its writers may have to point to Russia as the key to the international problems of this whole century, and, at the same time, acclaim a British statesman and author of the first quarter of the century as a prophet who foresaw Russia as a menace to world civilization. No one can deny in these mid-century years that the "cold war" with Russia and the world-wide conflict with Communism are the most pressing issues of our time.

On the eve of Britain's entry into World War I, Lord John Morley resigned from his post in the British Cabinet rather than be a party to binding Britain to France and at the same time to the demands of France's ally—Russia.

The story of John Morley's resignation has two facets of interest. It shows a man holding steadfastly to his personal ideals and to the traditional policies of his political party in the face of an overwhelming opposition, against which his protests were feeble and unavailing. The story further shows the wisdom and the depth of understanding Morley possessed of Russia's nature and position as he considered the problem of England's relationship with Russia.

Though Morley was a prominent figure in British public life for many years, having served in Parliament as a Liberal since 1883, his career as a statesman was probably secondary to his rank as an author. His *Life of Gladstone* is one of the great biographies in the English language. His other literary works included essays, studies of the French encyclopedists, biographies, and his last work, *Recollections*, which intimately covered his lifetime of thought and action. Of particular interest to

the student of history is his *Memorandum on Resignation* which was not published until 1928, five years after his death.

The son of a Yorkshire surgeon, Morley as a youth intended to take orders in the Church of England, but after leaving Oxford he embarked on a career in the field of journalism. After working on the staff of the *Saturday Review*, he later edited the *Literary Review* and the *Fortnightly Review*. While editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in the 1880's Morley became interested in the cause of Irish Home Rule, and his identification with this cause endured throughout his political career. Some writers attribute William E. Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule to Morley's influence. In the third and fourth Gladstone Cabinets, and in the Rosebery Cabinet, Morley served as Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Between 1899 and 1903 Morley half withdrew from the political scene to spend his time writing his biography of Gladstone. From 1905 until 1910 he served as Secretary for India in the Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith Cabinets, later taking on the post of Lord President of the Council until his resignation in 1914.

Though Morley at times was criticized by his colleagues in the Cabinet, at the same time he was regarded with respect and affection. Morley was a Victorian. He had reached his prime during the reign of Victoria, an era noted in Britain for its prosperity, progress, and peace. He could not cope with the forces of the twentieth century which were compelling Britain to leave her tower of "splendid isolation." He was a "little Englander" who had come under the influence of the powerful personality of Gladstone, and who had spent his lifetime build-

ing up barriers to war. He could never approve of Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy which brought England into the Entente with France, entailing obligations to a power on the Continent.

It is difficult to ascertain when Lord Morley first began to deprecate any commitments which might bind England to Russia and which led to his final resignation from the Cabinet rather than be a party to any such commitments. There is evidence that he even co-operated with Foreign Secretary Grey in drawing up the Anglo-Russian Agreement.¹

The despotism of the Czar, the treatment of the Poles, and the persecutions of the Jews in Russia were contrary to British ideals. On the other hand British interests in Asia were in such intimate contact with those of Russia that there was constant friction which at any time might become so dangerous that it could threaten the strength and security of the Empire. The British were particularly anxious to prevent any further Russian advances in the vicinity of the Indian frontier. Morley was in the India Office at the time negotiations were begun seriously in 1907 to arrive at some agreement to settle Anglo-Russian differences in the Near East. He assisted in breaking down a block to the negotiations made by the Indian Government in making unreasonable demands regarding the British sphere of influence in Persia in an attempt to protect the Indian border.

Morley's first recorded expression of his attitude towards Russia's role in 1914 occurred in the Cabinet debates in the last days of July. In his Memorandum he recalls:

Have you ever thought, I put to them, what will happen if Russia wins? If Germany is beaten, and Austria is beaten, it is not England and France who will emerge pre-eminent in Europe. It will be Russia. Will that be good for Western civilization? I at least don't think so. If she says she will go to Constantinople, or boldly annex both northern and neutral zones in Persia, or insist on railways up to the Indian and Afghan frontier, who will prevent her? Germany is unpopular in England, but Russia is more unpopular still. And people will rub their eyes when they realize that Cossacks are their fellow victorious champions for Free-

dom, Justice, Equality of man (especially Jew man), and respect for treaties (in Persia for instance.)²

After a morning cabinet session on Sunday, August 2, Morley joined some of his Cabinet colleagues³ for lunch. Morley records that they all seemed to feel as he—that the Cabinet was “rather artfully drawn on step by step to war for the benefit of France and Russia.”

Morley told the group at the luncheon that he felt bound to resign, but on wider grounds than several others contemplating resignation. “Personally,” he reflected, “my days were dwindling, I was a notorious peace-man and little-Englander, etc., my disappearance would be totally different from theirs; the future responsibilities to Asquith, to the party, to the constituencies were quite different in their case, with their lives before them, and long issues committed to their charge.”⁴ Morley was nearly seventy-six years old at this time.

He passed the afternoon at his Club wrestling with the problem of the action he would take when the Cabinet reconvened at 6:30 that evening. Gladstone had often told him that a public man could have no graver responsibility than quitting a Cabinet on public grounds, and that there was no act for which a man might more justly be called to full account. Anyone, Morley noted, could hold or advocate unpopular opinions; but withdrawal from a Cabinet was a definite act, “involving relations for good or ill with other people, and possibly affecting besides all else the whole machinery of democratic government.” As he continued musing he thought of how an act of resignation concerned “a man's principle and creed”; of how it affected his “intimate and confidential relations with fellow-workers”; and of how it concerned “his party, its strength and weakness, the balance of power in its rank and its organization.”⁵

Finally, at the end of his afternoon's rumination Morley decided that the others in the Cabinet could do what they would, but for him “*the future being what it must inevitably be*” there was no choice for him but to resign. Of his decision, Morley has this to say: “My decision was due to no one particular conversation, telegram, despatch; to none of the private correspondence from abroad, which Grey used to confide to me as representing the Foreign

Office in the House of Lords. It was the result of a whole train of circumstance and reflection."⁶

In these last days before Britain entered the conflict John Morley was firm for neutrality, but, as can be seen in his musings, he was concerned over the fate of Liberalism, the party situation, and the possibilities of further parleys with the Germans. He had agreed that Britain could not permit hostile German action on her "doorstep," but he felt that the doorstep point was awkward if they stopped there. From then on, according to Winston Churchill who had sat next to Morley in the Cabinet since 1908, Morley was on the "slippery slope," though he was "no doctrinaire or fanatic." When Morley finally told Churchill that he must resign, Churchill tried to get him to wait two or three days, arguing that by then the Germans would "make everyone easy in his conscience" and the Cabinet would be in full agreement. Morley conceded that Churchill might be right, but he still felt that he would be no use in a War Cabinet and would only hamper the Cabinet; for if Britain had to fight, she must fight with "single-hearted conviction."

If Morley had waited to resign, Churchill later surmised that he would have marched "heart and soul at the head of his fellow-countrymen." Looking back on the crisis Churchill was glad that he had not prevailed upon Morley to remain, for he concluded:

It was better for him, for his repute, and for the great period and conceptions he embodied, that he should 'testify' however impotently, and raise unavailing hands of protest and censure against the advancing deluge. The old world culture and quality of hierarchies and traditions, of values and decorum deserved its champions. It was doomed: but it did not lack its standard-bearer.⁷

In this letter to Asquith asking for release from the Cabinet Morley does not comment upon his fear of Russia:

Privy Council Office,
Whitehall, S. W.
August 3, 1914

My Dear Asquith,—I have—as you wished taken a night's reflection over my retirement. I have given earnest pains to reach a sensible conclusion.

One thing is clear. Nothing can be so fatal in present circumstances as a Cabinet with divided councils. Grey has pointed out the essential difference between two views of neutrality in our present case. Well, I deplore the fact that I incline one way and the three of my leading colleagues incline the other way. This being so, I could contribute nothing useful to your deliberations, and my presence would only hamper the concentrated energy—the zealous and convinced accord—that are indispensable.

You remember the Peelites joining the Palmerston Cabinet in the Crimean War. They entered it, and resigned in two or three days. So, if we abandon neutrality, I fear that vital points might arise within two or three days that would make my presence a tiresome nuisance.

I press you therefore to release me. I propose to come to the Cabinet today after the P. C. at the palace. But I dare not hope to be much affected by what will pass there.

You will believe that I write this with heartfelt pain.—Ever,

"M"⁸

After receiving the above letter Prime Minister Asquith made an attempt to get Morley to remain in the Cabinet. He wrote to him, but Morley's reply led Asquith to the conclusion that Morley remained "obdurate" and must go.⁹ This Morley letter is noteworthy, for in it he again expresses his fear of Britain's binding herself to Russia, the situation he had argued against earlier in the Cabinet:

Privy Council Office,
Whitehall, S. W.
August 4, 1914

My Dear Asquith,—

Your letter shakes me terribly. It goes to my very core. In spite of temporary moments of difference, my feelings for you have been cordial, deep, and close, from your earliest public days. The idea of severing these affectionate associations has been far the most poignant element in the stress of the last four days. But I cannot conceal from myself that we—I and the leading men in the Cabinet—do not mean the same thing in the foreign policy of the moment. To bind ourselves to France is at the same time to bind

ourselves to Russia, and to whatever demands may be made by Russia on France. With this cardinal difference between us, how could I either honourably or usefully sit in a Cabinet day after day discussing military and diplomatic details in carrying forward a policy that I think a mistake. Again I say, divided counsels are a mistake.

I am more distressed in making this reply to your generous and most moving appeal than I have ever been in writing any letter of all my life.

Ever,

"M"¹⁰

John H. Morgan recalls in his volume of reminiscences and appreciation of Morley two conversations he had with him regarding Russia; one on September 13, 1914, and the other, February 15, 1918. In the first Morley stated that he had always opposed the Anglo-Russian Agreement, and that he saw Russia as the real aggressor and the country most likely to gain out of the war.¹¹ In the second, Morley berated the idea that the war was inevitable; and that as he had said to Asquith at the time of the crisis, he felt that Britain was only "playing Russia's game."¹²

When all Britain was acclaiming Russia as a "new and mighty star in the firmament of Liberal powers," Morgan credits Morley with remembering that "Russia does not change, and . . . that whatever might be her political innovations, she would prove at the end of the war to be as aggressive abroad, and as ruthless at home as she had ever been under the Romanoffs."¹³ How true later events have proved Morley's observation to be!

Today the world scene—an Iron Curtain of suppression dividing Europe, a united effort of the democracies to localize a conflict in Korea, a continuous "red" hunt in every democratic country, a constant fear gnawing at the strength of the neighbors of Communist countries, a race for supremacy in atomic weapons and air power, an uneasy world—seems to prove Morley right. Russia emerged from World War I a menace to Western civilization. Leaving the scene today a backward glance attests even more to the validity of Morley's predictions.

For example, in the 1951 crisis in Persia it was believed that the use of British armed

force to protect British interests in the southern Persian oilfields might result in Russia's sending armed forces into northern Persia and thus set off a third world conflagration. Russia was interested in the Persian oil fields, not because she herself could use them, but because their loss would be a blow to the West. Russian and British differences in Persia were supposed to have been settled in 1907, but the ink was hardly dry on the Agreement before trouble began again, and it has continued to this day.

The news that Russia had concluded a non-aggression pact with Germany—her traditional enemy—in August, 1939, on the eve of the German invasion of Poland, rocked the world. The pact made it possible for Russia to prepare her own forces while Britain suffered the full force of a German air attack in 1940. When Russia herself was invaded in June, 1941, the Western allies had to send her millions in military supplies because Russian help was needed in fighting a two-front war against the Nazis. At the conclusion of the war in the European theatre in June, 1945, Russia established her influence behind that Iron Curtain extending from Berlin through the Balkan states which the Western democracies cannot penetrate. Even a final peace treaty for Germany cannot be drawn up for fear of further Russian demands.

When the Revolution inside Russia forced the Russians to withdraw from World War I in December, 1917, the Russian regime was left at the mercy of the Germans by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and the Western allies were forced to take up the battle in the East to prevent the transfer of German troops to the West. At the Versailles conference the Russians had no seat, yet the Germans were forced to denounce the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and Russia was left virtually as she had been at the outbreak of the war in 1914.

Russia must assume some responsibility for the war in 1914. Russian desires in the Balkans were akin to her interest in the Balkans and her support of Serbia. Russia's mobilization was followed by the German declaration of war, a war into which France was bound to enter because of her alliance with Russia. England was drawn into the conflict through

the intimacy of her relations with France and her attitude toward Belgian neutrality, which was bound to be violated in a war between Germany and France. England was not obligated by her 1907 Agreement with Russia to assist her, but England's Ententes with both Russia and France had added strength to the Franco-Russian alliance. Perhaps, as Lord Loreburn—the only other member of the British Cabinet to voice fears similar to Morley's¹⁴—believed, if the Russian Revolution had come earlier, "the whole train of causes which brought about the tragedy of August, 1914 . . . would have ceased to be sources of danger for the future so far as the general peace of Europe was concerned."¹⁵

In World War II, though Russia was only at war against Japan six days before the Japanese acceptance of the Allied terms of capitulation on August 14, 1945, Russia secured a position which enabled her to take part in framing the definitive treaty between the Allies and Japan in September, 1951, as well as to secure an enlargement of her sphere of influence in Asia. For Americans alone Russian power has meant a huge sacrifice in human life and billions of dollars to help the lesser nations in both Europe and the Far East resist the onslaught of Russian Communism and domination.

In 1923 H. W. Massingham, a British publisher and editor, wrote of John Morley following his death that year:

Morley's place in history depends in some degree on what becomes of Europe. If it

sinks once more into a scene of anarchy and bloodshed, men will look to the life and teachings of John Morley with growing reverence for their truthfulness.¹⁶

This statement is a cliché which has been used repeatedly in speaking of the great men of the world's history; but in Morley's case, when one considers his attitude toward Russia and Russia's position in the world today, there is truth in it—whether that attitude was based upon foresight or reflection.

¹ See George MacCaulay Trevelyan, *Grey of Faldoon* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937), p. 210. Also *Dictionary of National Biography Supplement 1922-30* (Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 623.

² John Morley, *Memorandum on Resignation* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928), pp. 5-6.

³ Sir John Simon, David Lloyd George, Lord Harcourt, Sir Herbert Samuel, Joseph Pease, McKinnon Wood.

⁴ Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

⁷ Winston Churchill, *Great Contemporaries* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937), p. 87. See also pp. 85-86.

⁸ Herbert Henry Asquith, *The Genesis of the War* (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1923), pp. 220-221.

⁹ Earl of Oxford and Asquith, *Memories and Reflections* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1928), II, 25.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

¹¹ John H. Morgan, *John, Viscount Morley* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924), p. 42.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ First Earl of Loreburn, *How the War Came* (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1919), pp. 106-107.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

¹⁶ H. W. Massingham, "Lord Morley's Place in History," *Current History*, November 1923, pp. 209-214.

They Are Growing Up Together Labor, Management and Government

ALBERT L. GRAY, JR.

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The economic family seems to be reaching maturity at about the same time. Government in our country was born first and as such always assumed a protective attitude towards the younger members of the family. Business management came next and for a long time worked together with government so that they dominated the affairs of the economic house-

hold. Then rather late in life, though certainly not prematurely, there was born the third child—organized labor. He had to shout loudly and constantly raise a fuss in order to be heard. The growing up was tough, but fortunately, and at last, the triumvirate has reached adulthood and is working together in reasonable harmony.

From 1776 to the nineteen thirties, business reigned supreme and unchallenged. Rugged individualism, laissez-faire government policies, capital accumulation, territorial expansion, booming population and the profit incentive enabled the people to enjoy a rapidly rising standard of living. But the vigorous competition after the Civil War was too rigorous for many business leaders. They sought to reduce competition by mergers, pools, consolidation, trusts, holding companies and other monopoly practices. They beat down the labor union for fear their gains would be at the expense of business profits. The inevitable result was a series of laws passed by big brother government to curb some of the abuses of business.

Some leaders of business never have been able to adjust to the more mature economy of today. They still urge a return to the past when they could bluff the government and beat up the unions. Much of the literature of manufacturers' associations reflect this atavistic attitude, and as a result their influence is relatively ineffective and unimportant today. However, new business leaders are emerging and witnessing to the new maturity. One of the most responsible organizations of businessmen is the Committee For Economic Development. The C. E. D. was founded in 1942 as a private, non-profit, non-political research organization. It devotes its energies to the formulation of plans that can be used by businessmen as they prepare for full employment and high productivity. The reports of the C. E. D. are worth reading, for they are cogent, vital, and objective and are written with a keen understanding of the political and economic climate in which such plans must be executed.

Further evidence that management is growing up lies in the type of industrial leaders now working for the government. They are represented by the Treasury Department's Mr. George H. Humphrey, former president of the M. A. Hanna Company; Mr. Marion B. Folsom, former treasurer of Eastman Kodak and Chairman of the Committee for Economic Development; and Mr. Warren R. Burgess, Federal Reserve banker. These men have long practiced planned economies as they managed their own corporations. They are willing to try such methods on a national level—making the nec-

essary modifications to stay within the free enterprise system.

We have had businessmen in government service before, especially under President Hoover, but they were men of wealth. They were the risk bearers, the capitalists, the entrepreneurs, as represented by Andrew Mellon. Today's government men are the managers and production experts. This marks a significant difference.

Within industry itself there is an abundance of evidence of new maturity as business and labor cooperate. More than ever before the welfare of the individual worker is being considered. We are following the advice of Elton Mayo as we find ways to ease the adjustment of the worker from an established society to an adaptive one. Business seems to have recognized that in the past it has over-emphasized technological advances, and disregarded the adjustments that were being forced on employees. Stock ownership by employees is being encouraged by many outstanding corporations. Likewise, after a long period of uncertainty and experimentation, genuine profit sharing plans seem to be increasing. Only enlightened businessmen are willing to try such methods.

Fortunately, also, the youngest member of the economic family is growing up. Organized labor has often acted like a teen-age delinquent, and some of the unions still wear zoot suits, but on the whole the country is able to witness encouraging signs that labor is becoming of age.

It was not always so. The young infant was born as a shoemakers' union in 1792 in Philadelphia. Unions of skilled craftsmen in other cities and other fields soon came into the world squawking: the carpenters in Boston in 1793 and the printers in New York City. They grew in spite of the attempts by governments to convict them of conspiracy. The next steps for the union involved the formation of the locals into nationals. The National Typographers took this step in 1852 and the Locomotive Engineers combined their locals in 1854. The next development was easy to predict—the establishment of a federation of the various nationals. The American Federation of Labor dates back to 1881 and the more recent Congress of Industrial Organizations to 1935. These grew in spite of injunctions, yellow-dog contracts and anti-trust

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suits. The kid was growing strong in a tough environment.

Then in the nineteen thirties big brother government seemed to pal around with the kid brother in the labor movement. The result was a series of laws starting with the Norris-La Guardia Act in 1932 and including the Wagner Act which not only gave labor the right to organize and bargain collectively but tipped the balance in family disputes against business management and in favor of labor. Such bias and partiality is not conducive to harmonious economic relationships. The partnership lorded it over business and succeeded in making itself obnoxious at times. Inevitably restitution had to come. It did in the form of the so called Taft-Hartley Act of 1947. At first, labor screamed to high heaven and called it a slave labor bill, but time has mellowed labor's judgment and it is interesting to observe increasing acceptance of this act. This, I feel, is a sign of labor maturity.

The new leaders of organized labor also reflect the intellectual growth and adulthood of this member of the economic family. William Green and Philip Murray represented the old

type labor leader prevalent in an era of baseball bats and bricks. Their aims were to benefit their unions even at the expense of the rest of society. The new goal of the new labor leaders is the general welfare of the entire democratic population. Walter Reuther believes in the economy of abundance with all the technological advances that are possible. Only in this way will the economic pie be larger, and the larger the pie, the larger the slice to labor and to management. Such a philosophy, if fully followed, would mark the end of childish feather-bedding, production limitation plans, spread-the-work policies and annual strikes every time a new contract is to be signed. Labor today has its own staff of economic experts, statisticians, and lawyers. They can match brains with management—certainly less infantile than matching brawn.

They are growing up together now—labor, management, and government. If they will work harmoniously with more cooperation and less selfishness, we all stand to benefit. Now that they have become men, they should put away childish things.

Study Habits of High School Youth

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When our college freshmen return for Christmas or Easter vacation, we corner the big wheels and invite two or three of the better ones to sit in on a panel with two or three of the high school seniors who will go to college next year. The program draws quite an audience of both college preparatory students and teachers who like to hear how well or how badly the high school is functioning in behalf of the relatively small proportion of graduates that go on to college. One theme which we always hear repeated with tiresome regularity is this: "we never learned how to study in high school."

This seems to be the particular deficiency we have been least able to correct. When our seniors go to college they find it hard to adjust to long assignments and long hours of concentrated study. This holds true, for the

most part, in long reading assignments in social studies or literature rather than in math or science. Teachers want to know if we should make longer assignments in high school and we learn that not necessarily longer assignments are needed, but "make 'em do the ones you give now!" You know, that is just like the father who condemns young people for exactly those things which he did. Another suggestion was made that college preparatory students might be segregated as a vocational group that needs specialized skills like other vocational classes. This merely suggests that the upper fourth of our classes are not generally pushed to capacity because there is a lower three fourths dragging them down with their slower pace. Segregation in such circumstances is perhaps philosophically unsound.

One hears parents remark that their kids don't seem to have much school work to do any more. Study hall teachers frequently complain that the students don't seem to have anything to do, that's why they are nuisances and constantly in trouble. Subject teachers are quick to retort that there is little point in heaping on new assignments when the old ones aren't done satisfactorily now, or not at all. There is little doubt about it, high school students haven't learned how to study.

As a rule youngsters in high school don't accomplish very much when they do study by themselves, particularly in a reading assignment in social studies or literature. For one thing they will invariably catch the unimportant details, and fail to see the large divisions of subject matter. The best device to detect this fact is to ask students to make out a quiz on what they have read, one that would be suitable for class use. You are sure to get questions on unimportant matter in which the reader was interested. At least the teacher can take some measures of satisfaction from this failure of immature youth for if it weren't thus, mass education could be done by a student chairman and a plentiful supply of audio-visual aids. The teacher will always have an indispensable place in education in tying together a mass of details and organizing them for the youngsters so that they will have a connected body of information when they are through.

For another thing, youngsters are just naturally too curious about what others are doing to concentrate on their own assignment, too extrovert, as it were. Did you ever see a group of youngsters of high school age study for a test in history? You will be amazed when they tell you that they got together and "studied."

The first step in the improvement of the reading study habits of youth requires that they be given materials to read that they will like. Most of us probably neglect fiction in our social studies assignments. If you can get a youngster started in a good, exciting fiction book he will bury himself like a book worm that he isn't. How to get him started? Well, one possibility is to assign fiction or fact books that follow a movie he has seen. Even if it's only remotely connected with the text, it is better

that the youngster gets into the habit of reading for himself and concentrating for some time, than that he muddles along with your plan of chronological study. The establishment of a habit of study is the goal in this case.

Of course there comes a time when students must all read the master text so that order is obtained out of oceans of facts learned. The teacher should spend more of her class time in reading the sentences with the students, placing the correct stress upon the meaningful words until it becomes habitual with the students when they read the text. The language of most textbooks is completely strange when compared to the language of the teen-agers. As teachers we do not spend enough time in orientation to the textbook language. I have always been surprised to hear even the good readers falter and stumble over textbook materials trying to get proper nouns they haven't seen before and causing me to wonder how they get much meaning out of what they read. To spend more class time in supervised study has been mentioned so often it probably needs no mention as a means of improving the study habits of youth. We talk too much. "The harder I work, the less the students learn" said one loquacious teacher to me, the work in this case being mostly lecture work.

In a reading assignment in social studies or literature it is necessary to bring a certain amount of background of experiences to fully understand its meaning—quite beyond the average 17- or 18-year olds. They may be able to pick out the most significant facts in a single paragraph, having learned that the topic sentence usually does the trick. However, in a unit of study, let us say in World History, covering several centuries of time, this over-all picture is very difficult for youngsters to grasp. I have found that it is good exercise to select the three or four principal ideas, with suggestions from the class members, and use these as a skeleton outline. From this beginning students can fill in and learn their "A, B, C's," or principal subdivisions under each heading. Now, the teacher can promptly spoil the exercise by announcing beforehand that "we are now going to outline this unit", or worse yet, "take this to the study hall and outline it". There seems to be something distasteful about outlining, suggesting

perhaps that outlining has been too frequently used as a punishment for the youngsters. It is best to approach the unit as if you were thinking out loud together, and to write down what you agree upon. As an assignment, you can suggest how many "A, B, C's" there will be under each large heading, and that they should find them by themselves. Considerable interest and discussion as well as real study can be encouraged this way.

To make an outline seem more functional to students I have saved their outlines until several months later and then hauled them out and asked for a theme to be written right in class, perhaps as a part of their final examination. Most students don't know what an outline is for; they seem rather surprised that you can write a paper from an outline. You generally find them writing their term paper first, and then making an outline of it. At any rate one can use outlines, without their familiar label, as a means of getting better concentration upon the textbook from students who ordinarily never look into a text from one day to the next.

I have used another device to get readers out of the "comic" books in study hall and into a textbook, at least for a little time. This is the open book test. If an open book test is constructed just right it is better than a work book, which tends to become tiresome, and is a good "come-on" for even the poorest reader. There must be enough of obvious fact questions to keep the poorest interested, and enough of the not too obvious to keep the best readers guessing. Each open-book test must cover a convenient unit of subject matter so that the continuity of a story is not lost. Completion sentences from the reading material are good, with perhaps a new wording to make them not quite too obvious to find, alternated with exact copies of sentences in the text. Let the gregarious nature of young people have full play by encouraging them to work in pairs or teams in finding the answers. The good readers will coach the slow ones and thus save the teacher hours of hard work. Students will enjoy this chance to assemble and talk over their reading

lessons, argue about the exact answers, and generally have a good time over it. Most school buildings do not provide enough small conference rooms for such student teams but they will meet after school hours to work out their open-book tests, believe it or not.

It's important that the open-book tests should count for something. They might even be counted as a five- or six-weeks test mark. If the tests are used only for busy work, then there's no reward, and students would rather be busy with something else of their own choosing. When a class has worked out an open-book test on a unit of reading material, I usually collect their "cheatin' papers," throw them away, and ask the students then to write the answers on the very same questions by themselves, this time without any help from anyone. This seems like a lark; everybody ought to get a perfect score that way, and they will if the test is too short or too simple. Properly constructed open-book tests will give as wide a spread in class grades as any test written "cold," but the average of the class will be higher. A high standard of correct spelling of new words peculiar to the subject, sentence structure, accuracy of information, etc., can be established before writing, with full acquiescence of the students. After all, they looked the questions up and learned them; what more can they expect? I find less tendency to cheat because in writing this kind of test or review, a student is running a sort of contest with himself instead of trying to outsmart a teacher.

Of course you can't expect to make a book-worm out of every high school boy or girl. You can't expect them to study as well as a college student, either. Learning to study is learning to increase the span of attention for longer and longer periods of time, and that is simply a process of growing up. But there is no doubt that study habits of youth can be greatly improved over the superficial nature of much of the studying done by high school students, especially those who are not going to college, and that takes in the great majority.

The Junior Historian's Handbook

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A social studies development of the twentieth century that has proven that history can be interesting is the Junior Historian's movement. It is now found in most of the United States, and since the organization of the Pennsylvania Federation of Junior Historians on April 16, 1942 that state alone has seen more than 145 active chapters come to life. These prove that if a community's adults may not always appreciate the pages of history that they live among, their children are making an honest effort to read and add to them.

PURPOSE OF THE HANDBOOK

Since local history parallels American or World History, because it is an integral part of the same scene, there is no lack of interesting activities for imaginative and energetic club sponsors and members. However, because living experiences should be recorded as a substitute for future trial and error in club activities, and because so little of the contemporary local scene is written down that records the community's resources, an organization of the local Junior Historian's materials in usable form is essential for the club's future progress.

The Keith Junior Historians¹ have found the answer for such a need in the compilation of a *Keith Junior Historian's Handbook*. They felt that if scout organizations could have their manuals, that in a manner even more expressive of American democratic enterprise they could compile their *own* handbook. This, in turn, would guide them to knowledge and appreciation of their own locale, the basic ingredient of America's pottage.

This project was carried out by club committees under the direction of the author and two of his student teachers—Arlene Warfel and Richard Heiges. In a way it was a "bible" of

suggestions for local information, interests, and the promotion of club activities "in order to bring together the essential ideas and techniques for organizing and operating a Junior Historian's Club."²

OUTLINE OF THE HANDBOOK

This outline of the materials in the *Handbook* gives the span of information involved:

- I. Foreword
- II. Introduction
 - A. Purpose of Handbook
 - B. Purpose of Junior Historians
 1. Chapter Motto
 2. Chapter Colors
 3. Chapter Pledge
- III. Brief History of Indiana County
- IV. Officers and Sponsors
 - A. State Officers
 1. State Secretary
 - B. Regional Officers
 1. Presidents
 2. Vice-Presidents
 3. Sponsors
 - C. Junior Historian Chapters
- V. Guide to Organization
 - A. Introduction
 - B. Organization of a Chapter
 1. Membership in PFJH
 - a. Qualifications for Membership
 - b. Membership Application
 - c. Individual Memberships
 - (1) Facsimile of Keith Certificate of Membership
 - (2) Facsimile of Keith Membership Card
- VI. Order of Business
- VII. Suggested Projects
 - A. Individual Projects

- B. Group Projects
- VIII. Genealogical Chart Outline
- IX. Historical Sites in Indiana County
- X. Suggested Speakers and Interview Resources
- XI. Program Suggestions
- XII. Financing Activities
- XIII. Publications
- XIV. Constitution

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES

In addition to the fact that a large amount of essential material is made available for immediate use as required, a number of social studies skills are put into practice by the compilation and usage of the handbook materials. These include:

- The democratic aspects of teacher-pupil planning
- The knowledge and use of community resources
- The development of committee and small group activities
- The use of interviews as a historical method
- The ability to write written reports
- The knowledge and use of library facilities

- The practical application of spelling experiences
- The applied use of the dictionary
- The development of powers of oral expression
- The organization and use of outlining in writing
- The application of personal and communicable etiquette
- The development of evaluative, critical judgment

This is a project that will place in a condensed version the plan and activities of a Junior Historians Club and at the same time will make available for the "enlivening" of United States history classes a list of community resources that will cause the students to become more conscious than ever that all of history's pages are not in books. They may walk, talk, or silently stand as reminders that the past, present, and future destinies of a community are intertwined and are only waiting to be identified.

¹ The club is composed of Ninth and Tenth Grade students attending the Campus School at the State Teachers College, Indiana, Pa.

² *Keith Junior Historian's Handbook*; edited 1951; revised 1953, p. 1.

The Group-Unit: An Approach to the Teaching of History

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The social studies classroom in a democracy should be the student's most realistic, practical experiment in democratic living, since the core of social studies is the promotion of ideals to make more worthy, responsible citizens. Recognizing that, in this changing world, such democratic experience should be encouraged, the group-unit method serves as a satisfactory medium. Here is a method that is fully democratic, objective in scope, and flexible enough to be adaptable to many classroom situations.

The group-unit is an integral combination of the most democratic method of group instruction and the educational unit based on a specific amount of work covered during some

designated time duration of variable length. This system of teaching is based on pupil-teacher planning and organization, with shared responsibility. It contrasts with the question-answer technique, rote-memory idea, and the one-book approach, which, even in this day and age, unfortunately persist.

THE METHOD IN OPERATION

Let us examine this method in operation. In a United States History course studying from chronological and topical aspects, units of study would be concerned with such aspects as the social, economic, political, diplomatic, military and aesthetic. Before beginning the study of United States history the instructor points

out in a series of talks and informal chats that the record of our country in the world's history is as minute in time as the history of our world in the history of space. This is done by scanning the record of the growth of mankind from his advent on earth, thus initiating a time line and placing our country's position among the nations and areas of the world in time and importance.

A unit example might treat with the period 1763-1783. In this unit the teacher would plan to spend about four weeks covering the material from the viewpoints previously named. Assuming that his class load is twenty-seven students, the class would divide itself into three groups of about eight students per group. These divisions are not made by the instructor, but by the class as a whole. Five years of experience in this method have shown that groups of eight students work together most effectively and efficiently. Each group democratically elects its own leader. This leader is, for all intents and purposes, the teacher of that group, acting on this miniature scale as the private tutor of the group. Within the group are students who also have functions of a responsible nature, such as an assistant group leader, a typist, a secretary, a librarian to distribute reference material within this group, a film operator, a bulletin board manager, and an observer whose duty it is to visit the other groups for additional viewpoints. Besides these groups there is a class librarian whose job is to obtain reference materials from the class history library, and the school and town libraries. A greater-group leader, who works in conjunction with the instructor and all group leaders leads various activities of the entire class, including all the groups acting as one unit. The greater group leader may, as in this case, have an assistant. Each group has a section of bulletin board space to use.

It sounds as if the teacher has nothing to do, since all his authority is apparently delegated. However, he does have a task: that is, to serve as a resource person. That means, if the students run into any problems concerning group leadership, it is his task to aid them in any way he can. Daily he consults during the class period with the group leaders and discusses their exact course of action on the unit

material. Also, the teacher introduces a unit by giving a brief background on the material to be covered. From time to time throughout the unit the teacher gives informal talks, particularly trying to co-ordinate and correlate the various aspects of the subject (e.g., military, social, economic, political, intellectual). Acting as a guide to each group's activity, he sits in periodically on the individual group discussions. Thus, he is the guide-teacher of not the one class, but of three or four classes within one class.

ADVANTAGES OF THE GROUP-UNIT METHOD

There are numerous advantages of this form of group work. By limiting the teaching load of the group leader to about eight, individuals are reached on a personal basis in a way that the teacher dominated classroom could not duplicate as effectively. Each member of the group is reached directly and helped individually in the problem under consideration. Oral group work by a student leader and his associates in this small nucleus develops a feeling of confidence that will carry over into larger group discussions. Then, too, there is a kind of group therapy in working on a project or problem as an entity. Self-expression is encouraged in diversified forms, especially creative. The leader, on the other hand, develops the qualities of leadership in learning to handle diversified abilities, personalities, and problems relative to helping others to plan and study effectively. He learns to plan himself, since as group leader, he sees the entire unit in its planning and works with other group leaders in its development. It has been said that, of a class of twenty-five, five learn despite you, five are slow learners, and the fifteen in the middle are those to be interested and assisted. The group method has the best chance of reaching that mid group effectively, but also challenges the upper group and stimulates the lower group.

MANY VIEWPOINTS

In the group-unit method, an integral part of the method employed is the use of multi-viewpoints through the media of numerous books and resources, including magazines and audio-visual aids. The class follows the plan of not adhering to one textbook. Emphasis is on diversified presentations by various authors.

In the group-unit from 1763-1783 the books used cover not only the general treatment found in ordinary textbooks, but also books dealing with the specific trends previously enumerated, and books directed to varied reading abilities from the elementary to advanced students. Therefore, each group member may use many books during the course of a unit; in fact, twenty or more books may be in use during any one class period. By employing books on a diversity of reading levels, abilities of each student can be utilized and his best potentialities and interests served. Many copies of each of fifteen textbooks are in constant use. The attached group-unit includes reference materials specific to this unit.

EVALUATION OF THE GROUP-UNIT METHOD

How can the learning consequences of the group-unit method be appraised? Democratic pupil-teacher planning is an integral part of the method. Activities of a varied nature which reach varied pupil levels of interest and ability and which can be effectively carried out are possible. Under the group-unit method activities lead to various types of student consequences; for instance, the acquiring of skills, the development of worthwhile attitudes, the development of suitable appreciations, the acquisition of information and understandings.

The following are criteria for examining the progress of the student under this method:

- Ability to work with others—courtesy, respect, objectivity
- Ability to fulfill his task as a group member
- Development of individual talents and skills
- Use of reference and resource materials
- Organization of materials for oral presentation
- Organization of materials for written presentation
- Reports and projects
- Subjective examinations.

Such evaluation is made by the teacher on the basis of his group supervision and with the assistance of the group leaders.

Submitted herewith is a group-unit form on the topic named previously: United States History, "The Growing Struggle," (Colonies and Great Britain), and "The Colonies Win It." Only the skeleton form for the group-unit is standard; the time period, the assignments,

activities, reports, resources, etc. will vary.

Suggested Guide Questions

Part I—The Growing Struggle

1. The year 1763 is significant in America's relations with the world. Explain.
2. Give your viewpoints on why England and the American colonies drifted farther apart in their relations between 1763 and 1776.
3. The Quebec Act was a catalytic agent in bringing about the Revolutionary War. Explain.
4. In studying the Declaration of Independence, do you find any clause that gives the fundamental cause of the war?

Suggested Guide Questions

Part II—The Colonies Win It

1. Why was the Revolutionary War a part of the Second Hundred Years War between Great Britain and France?
2. Give reasons why English historians have called the American Revolution a civil war.
3. Discuss the reasons why the Americans won the war.
4. What were the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1783?
5. How did the American Revolution affect the life of the average American?
6. Why is the American Revolution considered so important in world history? Explain.

Assignments

for

The Growing Struggle—The Colonies Win It
1763-1789

* Time allotted—four weeks

Part I—The Growing Struggle

Assignments for the week of: September 26

Monday—Introductory talk by the instructor to relate work previously covered with the work to be undertaken—15 minutes. Guide questions suggested.

Supervised study for class.

Librarians distribute books.

Group leaders meet with instructor.

Tuesday—Guide questions discussed briefly.

Group leaders and instructor meet to plan initial unit work, while class has supervised study (about 10 minutes).

* Time allotment is flexible. It may vary in the overall group-unit, or in daily work.

Class discussion to determine viewpoints that each group will cover.

Wednesday—Class librarian to report on books available from town and school libraries. Suggested questions and materials passed out by group leaders to students in their groups.

Groups to divide as follows: I political and diplomatic, II economic and III social.

Thursday—Work period in class on general guide questions suggested by the instructor for Part I.

Students add to list of suggested reports and select topics for reports.

Friday—Supervised study for entire class—20 minutes—Group leaders talk with the instructor on any problems that might have arisen on reports, assignments or the like. Instructor visits groups to help with individual problems during remainder of the period.

Assignments for the week of: October 3.

Monday—Various groups work on their reports in the class period. Instructor acts as a resource person during this period.

Tuesday—Individual group discussions—Group I, political and diplomatic; Groups II and III study. Group II reports; Groups I and III study.

Wednesday—Group III discussion; Groups I and II study.

Individual group members report on special topics to the class.

Thursday—Continuation of reports on special topics. Democratic class participation in evaluating these reports.

Friday—Class discussion on Part I of the unit led by greater group leader, summarizing and reviewing. Instructor acts as resource person in the background.

Part II—The Colonies Win It

Assignments for the week of: October 10

Monday—Informal chat by the instructor introducing the second phase of the unit. Guide questions suggested.

Group leaders and librarians meet in separate groups.

Class members spend the rest of the period in general reference reading for the period.

Tuesday—Instructor leads a discussion on guide questions (approximately 20 minutes). Group leaders and instructor meet to plan work.

Librarians pass out and exchange materials.

Wednesday—Group I of the class to study military; Group II to study political and diplomatic; Group III to study economic and social.

Suggested assignment questions and materials passed out to the groups by the group leaders.

Instructor serves as resource person going from group to group.

Thursday—Suggested report list passed out by the instructor. Students may add to this list and select one topic for investigation.

Work period to follow.

Friday—Instructor meets with group leaders to discuss any problems that may have arisen in their groups.

Supervised study period to follow.

Assignments for the week of: October 17.

Monday—Groups work on their reports in the class period.

Bulletin board managers check materials.

Instructor acts as resource person to all members of the class.

Tuesday—The first part of the period, Group I has a discussion on their trend. Groups II and III have a study period at this time.

The second part of the period Group II has a discussion. Groups I and III to study.

Wednesday—Continued group work, Group III—discussion. Groups I and II to study.

Individual reports by group members to the class.

Thursday—The first part of the period continued individual reporting to class.

The instructor, having sat in on all individual group discussions, will criticize and comment upon the work of each group and the individual reports.

Friday—Class discussion on the entire unit led by the greater group leader.

Summary of the entire unit and review is made by the individual group leaders and the greater group leader.

October 24, Monday

Unit examination as a summarizing activity and as a tool for evaluation.

Suggested Reports

Part I—The Growing Struggle

(Students are free to select any other topic related to the unit)

Biographical Reports:

George III
William Pitt
Samuel Adams
John Hancock
Patrick Henry

General:

The Grenville Program
The Boston Massacre
The Boston Tea Party

Pretend that you are a newspaper writer in the Connecticut colony in 1775. Write a report on why you are in favor or against independence from the mother country.

Suggested Reports

Part II—The Colonies Win It

(Students are free to select any other topic related to the unit)

Biographical Reports:

George Washington
Thomas Jefferson
Benjamin Franklin
George Rogers Clark
Marquis de Lafayette
Thomas Paine

General:

Military phases of the War:

- (a) northern campaign
- (b) western campaign
- (c) southern campaign

French aid to the American cause

The part of geography in the Revolutionary War.

Make a map of our country in 1783. Compare it with the U.S.A. of our day.

Talk to some relative or friend who fought in the Philippines in the last war. Get his viewpoint on guerrilla warfare. Then compare this with the guerrilla warfare of the Revolutionary War.

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Leon Trotsky (Lev Bronstein) 1879-1940

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The principal of the school attended by Leon Trotsky informed the boy's mother, "Let me tell you, that's a bad boy. He has all the boys in the school under his power. The boy is going to be a dangerous member of society." Millions of people throughout the world later endorsed that estimate. Long before his death he was generally regarded as an international menace and a moral monster who was feared, abhorred, and despised wherever he happened to find temporary refuge. Before he was finally assassinated all four of his children had met violent deaths, and he himself his final exile. He was gingerly passed from one country to another as if he were a germ bomb likely to spread infection on the slightest provocation. His request on February 18, 1929 for permission to live in Germany was rejected. The Czechoslovak Communist Party refused him permission to live among them. The Government of the United States refused its soil as the last resting place of his ashes. Rarely in all history has one man aroused so much fear and insecurity in the whole world.

This revolutionist was of bourgeois origins. His father, a Jewish kulak, owned 250 acres of rich Ukrainian land, and rented an additional 400 acres. Upon his own farm he maintained three factories and a grain mill from which he derived additional revenue. Trotsky's revolutionary fervor, therefore, did not originate in an environment of youthful poverty and insecurity.

The atmosphere of his home re-enforced a nature prone to harshness. No one would ever have attributed tenderness or affection to old Bronstein, his father. On the contrary he was severe, brutal, crude and rude. A career dedicated to the appeasement of avarice, and to the gratification of selfishness had stifled whatever charity or humanitarianism he had ever possessed. Unlike the Lenin home where filial devotion and affection prevailed in a marked degree the mood of the Bronstein mud hut was individualistic, acrid and unsentimental.

Bronstein Sr. early detected his son's precocity, and sent him at nine years of age to a school in Odessa. Eight years later he was graduated from the gymnasium in Nickolaiev, and that completed his formal education. He was therefore less well schooled than either Lenin or Stalin.

Even before the end of his formal education he had abandoned his earlier liberal populism and had embraced Marxian socialism. When he was but eighteen years of age he organized the South Russian Workers Union in consequence of which he was arrested, imprisoned, and later exiled to Siberia. Except for the interlude from 1917 to 1928 he was in constant exile.

Trotsky was the embodiment of rebellion. This opposition to authority manifested itself while he was still in school. An instructor in French, Monsieur Burnande, indulged his profound aversion of German boys by tyrannizing over them. This injustice induced Trotsky to

organize his classmates into a chorus which, to avoid detection, hummed disapproval of the offending teacher. Trotsky had even proposed dispatching a round-robin letter of protest to the inspector of school and for this he was expelled from the institution. When an instructor required numerous essays without grading and returning them Trotsky organized a student movement against the negligent teacher. His early career as labor union organizer found its inspiration in opposition to employers. His instinctive and unconscious impulse was to be in opposition. In so doing he readily responded to a sense of righteous indignation. Almost all of his life he was impelled to action by a sympathy for the downtrodden, and an indignation against injustice. Defense of the *status quo* rarely enlisted his interest. He was in "permanent revolution" against the civilization of his time.

He was not only rebellious but also erratic. It was difficult for him to give sustained support to a cause, except to revolution. As a youth he subscribed to liberalism, but soon repudiated it for socialism. In 1903 when that party split into the two factions of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks Trotsky joined the latter but his constancy forsook him in 1904 when he left the party, only to return the following year. In 1906 he withdrew from the party again and by the end of the year he was back again. From 1907 to 1917 he was a golden mean between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. Until 1917 he alternated between supporting and opposing Lenin, spasmodically criticizing him with all his verbal fireworks. His erraticism and capriciousness prevented him from subordinating himself to anyone but Lenin. In 1924, with the establishment of the triumvirate of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin, Trotsky, the individualist, found it impossible to submit to them.

Upon his escape and illegal return from exile in 1905 he sent his wife a telegram informing her of his arrival. Through inefficiency or accident the telegraph company had failed to deliver the message, and this so angered Trotsky that he was determined to lodge a complaint. Had he not been dissuaded he would, of course, have been returned to Siberia.

His erraticism manifested itself in his unnecessarily harsh treatment of troops while he

was Defense Commissar during the Civil War. For failure to meet his fanatical standards of courage in opposing the assaulting White Armies he executed every Red officer defending St. Petersburg. On more than one occasion Lenin, who was not known for his mercy, had to intercede in behalf of less violent measures.

This man who could be so harsh toward others was extremely sensitive by nature. When an overseer on his father's farm struck a shepherd with a knout Trotsky, then a boy, was horrified at the brutality; when his father locked a trespassing cow up in his barn until its owner redeemed it by paying damages inflicted by the animal Trotsky, still a boy, was anguished over his father's ruthlessness; when a woman had walked five miles to the Bronstein home to collect one ruble for work which she had done, and then had had to sit for a whole day on the porch until the return of Bronstein at night for payment, again Trotsky was deeply humiliated by her embarrassment. When his father failed to tip a porter as much as Trotsky believed the situation demanded the son was shamefully disconcerted.

His sensitivity revealed itself in his fastidiousness. Trotsky was always immaculately dressed. He never smoked because he looked upon the ashes as filth, and smoking as filthy. He never drank because inebriates often lose control of themselves. He always bathed whenever possible, and even while dashing from one front to another during the Civil War he invariably had a bath tub aboard his train which he used daily, and like Napoleon each ablution was accompanied with a change of fresh linen.

His high regard for himself physically was matched by his lofty ethical code for his own conduct. Immoral or lascivious moods were alien to his consciousness. Vulgarity was obnoxious to him, and besides, he could use his contemplation more profitably along other pursuits. Coarse stories did not interest him and, though brilliant as he was, he failed to appreciate their significance when he heard them. Soon after the Bolsheviks had come to power they celebrated with a smoker for men. Trotsky, immaculately correct, moved from group to group listening to anecdotes and the more uncouth they were the less significant was Trotsky's smile. He simply had not appreciated the point.

Despite these eccentricities Trotsky was a man of great ability, and Lenin insisted that he was the "ablest man on the Executive Committee." Without ever having been trained in history his *History of the Russian Revolution* ranks high as a piece of scholarship. Many of his essays are literary gems. He was one of the greatest orators of his time. He could hold his listeners' attention for hours in summer rains or in winter blizzards. He could appeal to their intellect for academic persuasion or he could fire their emotions to violent action.

Somewhat as Disraeli in his early years imagined himself in the ranks of the nobility so this Eastern Jew, with reverence for Western culture, erected a world in which thinking was lofty, conversation refined, and intercourse gentle and cultured. He worshipped reason almost as if he had been a direct lineal descendant of the philosophers of enlightenment. He recognized the supremacy of the general over the particular. For mere facts he had but little regard unless from them he could draw generalization and conclusions which would give them life and meaning.

For western culture he had a profound appreciation whether it was proletarian or bourgeois. Had he lived today he would have repudiated the extravagant claims of Russian nationalists that they are the most advanced in science, art, and culture. And the contention that bourgeois culture must be reinterpreted in terms of proletarian ideals was to him naive and ridiculous. He insisted that what the bourgeois had produced should be employed as a foundation for a new science and a new art. "It is fatuous," he said, "to dream of the total annihilation of a past culture. It is peurile logic to advocate the construction of a entirely new esthetic, unattached to the old and unaided by past achievements in artistic technique." He frankly admitted that the "contemplative intelligentsia is able to give and does give a better artistic reproduction of the revolution than the proletariat which made the revolution."

He had a low appreciation of the cultural contribution of the proletariat. He opposed the popularization of art for the public. He confessed that art should be changed to interpret the life of the proletariat, that art should not be subjected to vulgarization. It should not be

leveled to the tastes of the masses, but the proletariat should be elevated to an appreciation of the merits of art. In the past the masses had had no understanding of the virtues of art because their time had been exhausted in toil, their horizons had been narrowed by economics, and their talents smothered in ignorance. Trotsky aimed to emancipate the peasants and workers, inspire them to a new artistic renaissance built upon the construction of the past and the ingenuity of the present.

He was an intellectual aristocrat. While he was still in the gymnasium he regarded authors, journalists, and artists as the elite of the world. Almost as an unobtainable ambition he hoped that some day he might be listed among them. And as a student his absorbing interest was always in the realm of ideas. Other students at Odessa went boating, fishing or swimming. He never even learned to swim, and as for duelling and street fighting this combative character had no interest in them. Though taverns and bawdy institutions were "out of bounds" to the students they were nevertheless within practical range, except for Trotsky. He spent his time in exploring the library, unearthing unusual bits of information, preparing questions to ask his teachers which they would be unable to answer, and then he would exhibit his mastery of the problem. His ambition was to lead his class, and this he always did with surprising ease. Imprisonments are rarely relished by the victims, but confinements can be ameliorated by the inner resources of the imprisoned. To most inmates imprisonment becomes a challenge to their endurance; to Trotsky it was an inspiration to improvement. This intellectual read French novels and the taste for this literary fare remained with him as long as he lived. This was both a relaxation and a stimulation, whether he was rushing from one battle front to the next, or from one place to another, or in quiet contemplation in some retreat. An exile became not merely a gloomy interlude in his career but the subject for a book, *There and Back* (1907); imprisonment is corroding and degrading to most of those incarcerated though it stirred his literary spring and *The Year 1905* constitutes "the most brilliant account from any hand of that memorable year, and one of the greatest examples of

eyewitness-participant reporting in all historiography." To the day of his death his love of ideas never left him, and he handled them fondly as a connoisseur of art beholds an ancient masterpiece.

Trotsky was at his best in moments of crisis. In turmoil and popular upheaval he knew what to do and others had confidence in his judgment. When he was only twenty-six years of age in 1905, he became head of the St. Petersburg Soviet and led the Revolution in that city. Twelve years later he organized the revolution which overthrew the Kerensky regime and inaugurated the Communist government. Even Stalin who disliked Trotsky commended him generously upon planning and executing the *coup d'état*: "All the work of practical organization of the insurrection was conducted under the immediate leadership of the President of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Trotsky. It is possible to declare with certainty that the swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet and the bold execution of the Military Revolutionary Committee the Party owes primarily and above all to Comrade Trotsky." In capturing control of the city Trotsky first took all the utilities such as water, electricity, gas, telephone, telegraph, and power plants that were vital to an occupying force, and after the situation was hopeless for the government he launched his attack upon the Kerensky headquarters. It then gave up almost without a struggle. The revolution went off so quickly that it scarcely interrupted Chaliapin while singing in the Royal Opera. The newspapers made no mention of the revolution the following day.

The Communists had experienced only a short tenure until they were confronted with civil war and foreign intervention. In that critical situation Lenin made Trotsky Commissar of Defense and endowed him with complete authority to carry on the war. At the time Trotsky was almost completely ignorant in military science and tactics, but he engaged a tutor and with a remarkable facility he acquired enough information to outline campaigns and administer their execution. In his special train equipped with maps, charts, telephone, printing press and bath tub this Russian Carnot traveled 150,000 miles to seventeen different fronts which the Red Armies were defending.

Out of a defeated, dejected and shattered rabble he developed a militant and disciplined arm of 1,500,000 troops, commanded by 22,000 former Tsarist officers, that hurled back the White Armies of Kolchak, Yudenitch, Denikin, and the forces of England, France, Japan, and the United States. Lenin appreciated his organizing genius. "Show me another man," he said, "who would be able within a year, to organize an almost exemplary army and moreover to win the respect of military strategists."

His ability to command, however, was restricted to crises when subordinates unquestioningly had to execute orders. Trotsky was too imperious, too arrogant, too contemptuous toward others to lead them in normal times. He made no concessions to the incapacity of others, nor did he admit error or weakness in himself. Consequently he always regarded himself as infallible and others as completely mistaken if they differed with him. Since compromise was beyond his comprehension he did not function well in the give and take of political life.

Related to his imperiousness was his insistence upon playing the role of prima donna. Vanity was as natural to him as humility was to Lincoln, and his hunger for public recognition influenced many of his decisions. No victory was complete without adequate applause, and sometimes the roar of approval seemed more important than the solid achievement.

Whether he was a Menshevik or a Bolshevik, or oscillating between the two brands of Marxism he was consecrated to the cause of socialism, and to revolution. His first wife affirmed, "He is the most consecrated person I ever met. Nothing, absolutely nothing—not even a disgraceful death—would swerve him from the path of his objective duty to the Revolution."

He not only believed in socialism for one country but he wanted the whole world to embrace the Marxian doctrine. He contended that a socialist regime in only one country could not endure for all non-socialist states would exterminate the red flame. This they could do without firing a shot for by withholding trade and imposing propaganda they could inflict economic dislocation and inject emotional disturbances that no government could survive. He maintained that capitalist countries were

determined to stop at nothing to exterminate the Russian socialist regime. It was therefore doomed unless it could destroy its enemies—the capitalist states. To do so he urged a constant campaign to overthrow the governments of capitalist states, and the establishment of socialist regimes that would be friendly to the Soviet Union. He did not have the capitalist weapon of trade with which to overthrow his enemies, but he would use insidious propaganda and the Third International. Thus he hoped to overthrow the Polish government with Poles, the German government with Germans, the French government with Frenchmen, the Italian government with Italians and so on *ad infinitum*, until all governments should operate on socialist principles. Then the Soviet Union would be able to enjoy security. This was the Permanent Revolution which he conceived in 1905 and continued to promote until his death in 1940.

Another phase of the permanent revolution was the subjection of the peasants to the city workers. Trotsky had an aversion to the peasants whom he regarded as unreliable allies. He suspected them, and quite correctly, of being devoted to capitalism. He sensed the tremendous fondness which they had for private ownership of land, and he believed that they would abandon Bolshevism at the first sign of its weakness. Therefore, he wanted to collectivize the peasant holdings and so arrange the national economy that the city workers should profit at the expense of the rurals.

Still another characteristic of his permanent revolution was his law of uneven development which is manifested by the rapid progress of a country in one tangent of its growth while the others lag. Thus Russia in the period after 1895 borrowed heavily in the foreign market in order to build factories and railroads while other segments of her economy remained stationary. Another example of this uneven development was aviation in Abyssinia in the early 1930's while most of its people still pursued a near-nomadic existence.

Trotsky rationalized this by the law of combined development by which he meant an integration or a fusion of the stages of development which then would be followed by other spearheads of progress, and lagging economic fronts,

and then subsequent amalgamations of the archaic with modern forms.

Trotsky welcomed the outbreak of World War I as the crisis which would inaugurate the world revolution and world socialism. Very soon after the firing of the initial shots he called for "Peace without indemnities and annexations, peace without victors and vanquished." Like Lenin he deplored the militancy and nationalism of the Social Democrats of France and Germany. Intermittently during the war he was hopeful of turning the conflict into a class struggle between the bourgeois and the proletariat, and in the early years after the war he was still hoping for the break in the capitalist clouds that should institute international socialism.

Trotsky and Lenin were variously allies and opponents during their long association. From their first meeting Lenin was impressed with Trotsky's superior ability, and shortly thereafter remarked, that he was "unquestionably a man of rare abilities, he will go much farther . . ." In the period before 1914 the two men differed on principles, and each one defined his own position with all the power at his command, not excluding the exchange of blows below the belt. Trotsky at one time insisted that the Leninists were a "handful of intellectuals who under the leadership of an unscrupulous man, Lenin, held the Russian Proletarian movement in their hands by dark means." Lenin returned the compliment in kind, for in 1911 he announced that "it is impossible to argue with Trotsky on essentials because he has no views," and on another occasion he spoke of him as "an empty phrasemonger." At the time this did Trotsky no serious injury, but later in the Trotsky-Stalin feud these mutual recriminations were resurrected and employed against Trotsky with devastating effect. In his calm estimate of Trotsky Lenin concluded that he was "too far-reaching in his self-confidence," and that he was "inclined to be carried away by the administrative aspect of things." The events of 1917 erased unpleasant past relationships. When the Provisional Government in July 1917 posted a proclamation for the arrest of Lenin and Zinoviev, Trotsky asked to be included among the arrested and this climaxed his return to the Bolshevik fold. His immediate

election to the chairmanship of the St. Petersburg Soviet underscored Bolshevik confidence in his revolutionary genuineness. Thereafter Lenin declared there was "no better Bolshevik." Thenceforth, though he differed with Lenin at times there was never any deviation in loyalty.

Trotsky took issue with Lenin on the acceptance of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. Trotsky favored continuing resistance to Germany in the hope that it might kindle revolution in Austria and Germany. Lenin's realism told him that the Russian soldiers could not, on that issue, be driven back into the trenches.

Trotsky also differed with Lenin on the management of trade unions. Trotsky proposed in the winter of 1920-21 to militarize the trade unions and to place them under the direction of efficiency engineers rather than allowing them to elect their own officials and to let them function as semi-autonomous agencies as proposed by Lenin. Lenin realized that any circumscription of the unions' status would drive its members underground and become illegal organizations and then become opposition bodies. Furthermore, Lenin wished to preserve a link between the Communist Party and the labor force. Trade unions could serve that purpose. Lenin carried out his point, and Trotsky loyally supported his chief.

During the Civil War the two men differed on the question of the defense of St. Petersburg. As Yudenitch's White army approached the city Lenin believed its capture inevitable, and advised its surrender. Trotsky, on the other hand, advocated holding it, and in this case he was right for the Red Army drove Yudenitch away and saved the city. Lenin was generous in his recognition of Trotsky's accuracy of judgment.

The two men were supplementary to each other. Lenin possessed a remarkable gift of translating ideas into programs of action. His conception of a situation was so comprehensive that he saw the whole scope of a situation in its proper perspective. This enabled him to operate on strategic rather than tactical lines. Thus he became implicit in the revolutionary process. He became a part of the revolution, and lost himself in its development. And as "Lenin lost himself in the revolution Trotsky found himself in the revolution." Lenin usually operated behind the scenes while Trotsky became its

"barker," and the leading character of the unfolding drama. "Lenin prepared the revolution; Trotsky executed the insurrection." Indeed, Lenin was in Finland until the night before the November revolution while Trotsky was in St. Petersburg directing the assault on the Kerensky regime. Trotsky announced the overthrow of the Provisional Government; Lenin had made it possible for him to do so.

While Trotsky could subordinate himself to Lenin he was unable to cooperate with Stalin. Even before Lenin's death there was a scramble for his mantle. Upon Lenin's passing a triumvirate comprising Kamenev, Zinoviev, and Stalin assumed control. Differences between Stalin and Trotsky, long latent, became active. One of these was a congenital one. Trotsky was nimble intellectually, and relished the pursuit of abstract ideas, while Stalin, in comparison, was mentally sluggish. Trotsky regarded Stalin with condescension, and this generated Georgian vengeance. Furthermore, in personal matters Trotsky was fastidious while Stalin was casual, if not crude. From their first meeting their personalities clashed. Trotsky confided to his diary, "He (Stalin) always repelled me." Each had superior qualities, and each had limitations, and each was inclined to recognize only the liabilities of the other.

There were also differences in principles. Trotsky's devotion to permanent revolution demanded an extension of communization within the Soviet Union at a time when the Party had resolved to restrict it by inaugurating the New Economic Policy (1921-23) which was a temporary reversion to capitalism. To Trotsky this seemed like an abandonment of Communist ideology, a betrayal of the revolution. To Stalin it was an expedient maneuver to save Bolshevik leadership. Trotsky distrusted the kulaks whom he suspected of capitalistic reaction. To him the New Economic Policy seemed to be a surrender to a renegade group with perverted economic ideals. His program called for the collectivization of the kulak holdings, and an intensification of industrialization. Stalin's ultimate objective was identical with that of Trotsky's but the Georgian cautioned prudence in its execution.

Trotsky not only wanted to expand the communist program within the Soviet Union, but he also wished to extend it to the rest of the

world. He believed that Communism could survive only by communizing all nations; Stalin maintained that Trotsky's program would inspire the rest of the world against the Kremlin. Stalin wanted to anchor communism firmly in the Soviet Union before trying to impose it internationally.

The two men also differed in their attitudes toward the trade unions. Trotsky by 1925 wanted to extend greater authority to these bodies, while Stalin wished to keep a tight rein upon them.

The management of the Communist Party constituted another bone of contention between the two leaders. Trotsky insisted upon greater democracy within the Party; Stalin never intended to share his authority with the rank and file. Trotsky insisted that the Party "lives on two floors; in the upper house they decide, in the lower floor they only get to know the decisions." Trotsky hoped to break Stalin, but this could be done only by loosening the control which Stalin held over the Party. Trotsky advocated free and fearless criticism of the Party. He accused the Party, because of its denial of freedom, of being a living corpse, of embracing an antiquated ideology.

Trotsky insisted upon exercising the freedom which he urged for others. He wrote *The New Course*, an open letter, in which he criticized the bureaucratic nature of Russian officialdom, accused it of stifling individual initiative, and insinuated that the leaders of the Party were becoming ossified. He demanded a transfusion of youthful leadership into the Communist Party.

The Party organization regarded the letter as a slanderous attack upon leadership. Kamenev, Zinoviev, and Stalin concentrated a blistering attack upon Trotsky, accusing him of deviations from Leninism. Stalin had, as Secretary General of the Communist Party, appointed 40,000 bureaucrats, and almost all of these took their cue from their chief and heaped a deluge of criticism upon Trotsky. Almost every newspaper leveled attacks upon him, condemning him for inconsistency with Leninism. This Stalinist *Jehad* turned Trotsky into a political corpse. In January 1925 he resigned as War Commissar, and thereafter he held only minor posts in the Party organization. In

October 1927 he was excluded from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and a month later he was expelled from the All-Union Communist Party. During this time he had pursued considerable liberty in denouncing the Party and its practices. In 1928 he had been requested to discontinue his fulminations. Since he refused to be silenced he was accused of "counter-revolutionary activities," and in January 1928 the Fifteenth Congress exiled him to Alma Ata, in south-east Soviet Union and on January 10, 1929 he was deported from the country. Trotsky and his wife and a son later were sent to Istanbul where they lived for a while and from there they went to Paris, to Denmark, to Norway, and ultimately they found refuge in Mexico.

In his controversy with Stalin Trotsky was doomed to defeat chiefly because he was not a politician. Owing to the fact that he was a lone wolf, an extreme individualist, and somewhat of a vain and capricious prima donna he could compel admiration and respect, but not associates. He could dazzle people with his brilliance, but he could not attract them with his warmth because there was no genuine affection or even friendliness. He talked to people, not with them, and at the conclusion of his monologues his listener departed in admiration and amazement, but not in love and devotion. He was unable to attach a following that would do battle in his behalf. He could appeal to crowds in the mass, but he left individuals cold. A leader must have apostolic followers who will rally the masses in his behalf. Trotsky was a Communist god without Marxist disciples.

He was a failure in a political scuffle because he refused to fight with all of the weapons at his command. In the thick of the contest with Stalin he refrained from exploiting his tremendous oratorical powers, which, in the initial stage, could have roused the masses against the entrenched bureaucratic foe. Communist punctilio, ideological etiquette, or personal paralysis muscle-bound his initiative, and this literally left the field to Stalin.

In Mexico Trotsky pursued his writing heavily guarded against anyone bent on assassinating him. On occasion his house was riddled with machine-gun fire in the hope that one bullet might find its fatal mark, but Trotsky

and his wife found refuge under his bed. In 1940, however, a supposedly trusted member of his party sank a pick ax into Trotsky's head, and the great revolutionary's career came to a close.

In the meantime Stalin pursued a double and contradictory objective with regard to Trotsky. He tried to erase him from Russian consciousness while at the same time he

endeavored to exaggerate his failings. Whatever Trotsky contributed to Russian development is, under Stalin's order, suppressed or distorted as political and economic heresy. Trotsky's true picture will therefore not be transmitted to future generations in Russia. It will have to be preserved and communicated by non-Bolshevik sources.

The Teachers' Page

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HOW TO RECOGNIZE PROPAGANDA¹

A basic problem confronting even the well-informed person today, in the face of the barrage of words emanating from the various sources of information, is: *What to believe and what not to believe.* For young people, whose minds are exceptionally pliable and more easily conditioned, this problem is basic to their education. An initial approach, for both student and adult, in resolving this problem is to raise a number of questions with respect to information obtained from whatever source, reading as well as non-reading. Some of these questions are:

1. How can I tell whether what I read, hear, or see is true or false?
2. How can I detect and guard against attempts to befog and confuse the issues involved in any controversial subject?
3. How can I distinguish between fact and opinion?
4. Do I have all the facts before coming to conclusions?
5. Am I open minded? Have I examined my own pre-conceived views in order to make sure that they do not color my reactions?

What The Student Should Know About

Propaganda

The term propaganda has, in the last few years, been associated with the dissemination of information which is untrue and whose purpose is to confuse and to distort the minds of people. Obviously, the propaganda of the

dictator countries, before and since World War II, has been of this vicious nature. It is primarily this brand of propaganda which young people should be trained to recognize and to guard against. However, if the schools are to do a complete job with respect to this important subject, it is necessary that students come to understand that propaganda may stem, also, from good and enlightened motives, whose ultimate aim is to improve and to better our way of life. Education for democracy, for example, is in the nature of propaganda. So is education for communism. In the one case the aim is to enlighten; in the other, the objective is to confuse.

To embrace all aspects of propaganda, the following definition is suggested: *Any effort, individual or group, utilizing any of the means of communication, that seeks to influence, control and direct people's thinking, feelings, and ultimately their behavior towards certain pre-conceived goals.* Activities that fall within this definition may include education, advertising, political speech making, literary criticism, dramatizations and song writing. The problem for the student is to be able to distinguish between the good and the evil in these and other propaganda activities.

Another aspect of propaganda that should at least be mentioned is that of censorship. People's minds may be influenced by the omission as well as by the commission of facts, statements and opinions. The withholding of unfavorable news from a battle front, or keeping secret the terms of a treaty, or deleting certain passages of a speech, may be just as

¹ This is the second of a series of articles on social studies skills, portions of which will appear in the forthcoming *Yearbook* (on the same subject) of the National Council of Social Studies.

powerful in their effect as the actual propagation of lies and untruths.

Psychological Bases for Propaganda

Successful propaganda relies for its effectiveness upon a number of well known psychological principles used either separately or in combination. These are:

Appeal to the emotions. Although man is a rational being, he is also, and to a greater degree than is sometimes realized, an emotional animal. The word emotion, as we know, implies movement or action. An appeal to the powerful emotions of anger, love, fear, hate or resentment is frequently more effective in moving people to action than an appeal to reason or logic. In periods of war and revolution, in situations involving mob behavior, such as lynchings, or in any situation where mass hysteria can be aroused, it is not very difficult to make people perform deeds which they would never even think of under less emotional circumstances. The emotion of fear—fear of losing one's job, of being hurt, of dying; or the emotions of anger, resentment and hate—anger because of real or imagined injustice to oneself, resentment against interference, hate of one who belittles; or the emotion of love—love for one's parents, spouse, or country; each of these emotions can become a powerful weapon of propaganda (for good or bad) in the hands of a clever and skillful manipulator of words, dramatist, artist, composer, or actor. By combining drama with music, by appealing to the imagination, and by utilization of the psychological mechanisms of identification and projection, the propagandist can choose the conflict and pick the hero and villain and make the unsuspecting individual assume the role he (the propagandist) decides.

The Power of Repetition. The human mind can be conditioned to believe untruths as well as truths. The psychological basis of conditioning is repetition. Even animals, as we know, can be taught to perform complex tasks through the medium of the conditioned response. Modern day advertising, for example, flourishes on the idea of repeat and repeat and repeat. Keep the name of the product before the public eye on billboards, say it over and over again on the radio and television, display it in bright colors

in magazines, and before long people will automatically ask for the product when making a purchase. Goebbels' propaganda machine employed this technique. It did not matter whether what was spoken or written was true. In time even the basest lies were taken for fact. Used in combination with other techniques and the appeal to the emotions, repetition becomes a powerful propaganda weapon. *The Power of Association.* People judge, evaluate and interpret all new experiences in terms of their apperceptive backgrounds. The first automobile, for example, was conceived in the shape of a horseless carriage. Association, both intellectual and emotional, is the key to much of the individual's reaction to new ideas and concepts. Pleasant associations with such words as democracy, Americanism, loyalty and freedom make their use very popular in political speech-making as a means of gaining votes for a given candidate. On the other hand, unpleasant associations with such terms as socialism, communism, fascism and dictatorship, when attached to political opponents, will have the opposite effect. The use of "smear" labels, as this practice is sometimes referred to, is thus another propaganda weapon. Sometimes old associations may stand in the way of getting people to think and behave along new patterns. The task of the propagandist, then, becomes one of wiping out these old associations and developing new ones, basically through an appeal to the emotions discussed hitherto.

Propaganda Techniques. In addition to being aware of the psychological principles as the basis of all propaganda, students should become particularly familiar with the various techniques employed by propagandists. Since most text books dealing with this subject give attention to these techniques, they are merely listed here. They are as follows:

- Name calling
- Glittering generalities
- The transfer device
- The testimonial
- Plain folks
- Card stacking
- The band wagon
- False analogies
- Faulty logic
- Citizenship in today's world requires a

degree and a kind of participation in everyday affairs of life that is considerably different from that of the citizen of past generations. The responsibility of participating in government, in economic activities (whether in employer or in union organizations), in community life, and in just plain buying of goods

and services, demands skill in evaluating facts, and skill in differentiating facts from opinions and truths from untruths. Propaganda, whatever we think of it, is here to stay. The student must be taught to recognize and evaluate it properly.

Visual and Other Aids

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Film materials about the oil industry may be had on request from the American Petroleum Institute, 50 W. 50th St., New York 20, N. Y. Send for copies of these two catalogs: 1953 Programs on Oil, and Movies About Oil.

The Story of United Nations Postage Stamps is an illustrated 36-page booklet covering stamps and postal stationery issued by the UN from Oct. 24, 1951 through 1952. For a post-paid copy, send 28 cents to the Sales and Circulation Section, The United Nations, New York. A poster showing UN stamp designs is free on request to the UN Postal Administration, United Nations, N. Y.

FILMS

The Challenge. 30 minutes. Sale. Black and white. Sound. McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 W. 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y.

This is a picture account of the status of civil rights today.

Of Human Rights. 20 minutes. Sound. Black and white. UN Films Division, The United Nations, N. Y.

An incident involving economic and racial prejudice among children is used to dramatize the importance of bringing to the attention of the peoples of the world their rights as human beings as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the UN General Assembly in December, 1948.

School Spirit and Sportsmanship. 1 reel. Sale. Coronet Films, Coronet Building, Chicago, Ill.

Stresses the relationship between these two factors and shows that the actions of the individuals reflect upon the spirit of the entire school.

The Story of Prehistoric Man. 1 reel. Sale. Coronet Films.

The life, appearance, habitat and achievements of prehistoric man as reconstructed from authentic evidence: prehistoric tools and weapons, cave paintings, and skeletal remains. *Student Government at Work*. 1 reel. Sale.

Coronet Films.

An active student council helps to solve a lunchroom congestion problem by cooperating with the principal and adviser, finding the causes of the problem, submitting proposals to remedy the situation, and respecting the limits of its authority.

Community Governments: How They Function.

13 minutes. Sound. Black and white. Color. Sale. Coronet Films.

The citizens of Riverside, dissatisfied with their community look into the advantages and disadvantages of the mayor-council, city manager, and commission form of government.

World Affairs Are Your Affairs. 27 minutes. Sound. Black and white. Rent or Sale. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Wilmette, Ill. Shows how the Cleveland Council of World Affairs brings radio, television, lectures, etc. to civic, social and fraternal groups.

Social Change in a Democracy. 29 minutes. Sound. Black and white. Sale or rental. United World Films, 1445 Park Ave., New York 29, N. Y.

Students discuss the conditions which exist in a democracy and those which exist in a totalitarian state, and learn at first hand how a problem in their own community, arising from social change, is solved by law and assembly rather than by violence.

Our Town Is Our Classroom. 21 minutes. Black and white. Sound. United World Films.

A class of high school students learn about the government of their community, not from textbooks, but from actual observation of town government in action.

Who Are The People of America? 10 minutes. Sound. Black and white. Color. Coronet Films, Chicago, Ill.

Explains where Americans originally came from; how they fought together; how they plowed the land; how they built cities; and how they are still building to create a finer America.

You Can Do It. 15 minutes. Sound. Black and white. Sale or rent. Brandon Films, 200 W. 57th St., New York, N. Y.

Shows the importance to the individual and to the community of our political system and the need for greater participation.

Boy Governor. 22 minutes. Sound. Color. Rent. Association Films, 347 Madison Ave., New York 27, N. Y.

Shows the functioning of a Boy's State sponsored by the American Legion, and how it teaches teen-agers good citizenship and practical democracy.

Government Is Your Business. 30 minutes. Sound. Black and white. Rent. The Christophers, 18 E. 48th St., New York 17, N. Y.

Shows that corrupt government is due to the weakness of good people than to the strength of evil-doers.

FILMSTRIPS

In Congress Assembled. 57 frames. Black and white. Teacher's Guide. Office of Educ. Activities, *The New York Times*, Times Sq., New York 36, N. Y.

Presents Congress as the forum of the whole American people, as the architect of all the laws Americans live by and as the pivot on which all Federal activity turns.

The American Council on Education (1785 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.) has released a set of four filmstrips in color (\$20 for the set) bearing the general title, "The U. S. Citizen and His Government." The series shows the kinds of services rendered by local, state, and national governments; relationships among the various levels of government; the relationship between the services of these governments and the expressed needs of the citizen; and the responsibilities of the individual citizen. The content of each filmstrip is described below:

Meeting the Basic Needs of Citizens. 59 frames.

Emphasizes the services of the national government and the advantages which have resulted from the federation of the separate states.

Promoting Personal Welfare. 64 frames.

Takes up services of the local, state, and federal governments which contribute to the personal welfare of citizens—services in the fields of education, health, safety, and social security.

Promoting the Material Welfare. 49 frames.

Deals with services of governments which contribute specifically to improving the material welfare of citizens—services in the fields of commerce, business, agriculture, and conservation.

Securing the Blessings of Liberty. 48 frames.

Deals with the concepts and provisions of the major documents which are the cornerstone of the various governments.

News and Comment

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

STUDYING THE U. N.

Dr. Leonard S. Kenworthy, instructor in the teaching of social studies at Brooklyn College and former program specialist in education for international understanding on the staff of UNESCO, suggests that junior- and senior-

high school teachers stress a few specific objectives in initiating a study of the U.N. which, he says, is the great contemporary effort to create a peaceful and just world community. (*The Clearing House*, September, 1953.)

These objectives are understandings of the

following seven points:

(1) The Purposes of the U.N.

These are to prevent war, to foster human rights, to promote justice and respect for international obligations, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

(2) The Powers of the U.N.

"One of the current and most common misconceptions about the U.N. is that it is a world government with power to act. It is not. It is an intergovernmental organization whose resolutions are only *recommendations* to national governments. An understanding of the fact would do much to combat the idea that the U. N. is curbing national sovereignties."

(3) The Programs of the U.N.

Studies of the U. N. and its agencies should emphasize the work of the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization as well as the conflicts in the Assembly and the Council.

(4) The Progress of the U.N.

The U.N. has eased tensions in Indonesia, Palestine, Kashmir, Iran, Syria and Lebanon, and Germany, fought disease in Haiti, India, Afghanistan, Egypt and Ceylon and launched projects in fundamental education in various parts of the world.

(5) The Problems of the U.N.

All these should be examined in their contemporary settings, realistically. Besides political conflicts, these problems involve struggles against poverty, disease, ignorance, illiteracy and low standards of living.

(6) Potentialities of the U.N.

Dr. Kenworthy recommends that students examine the possibility of the U.N.'s ultimately becoming a world government with power to act, rather than merely to recommend.

(7) The People of the U.N.

The U.N. basically is people speaking through their governments.

These seven points constitute a secondary school plan for studying the U.N. and its agencies.

U. N. AS PUBLISHER

The United Nations, one of the world's leading publishers, produces between two hundred and three hundred titles a year. These include social, economic and legal reports, and publica-

tions explaining the work and aims of the United Nations. Among these are the *United Nations Yearbook*, *The United Nations Calendar* and *Everyman's United Nations*. (*New York Times*, Sunday, October 25, 1953).

The United Nations publishes fortnightly an official illustrated news magazine called the *United Nations Bulletin*.

The *Bulletin* reprint entitled "To Ensure Human Welfare" has been received by this commentator. The *Bulletin* contains a vast amount of information, concisely and objectively stated. Some especially interesting items include resolutions passed by the Commission on Human Rights, concerning the status of women, the nationality of married women, refugees, technical assistance and narcotic drugs.

The United Nations Picture Sheets, distributed by the Photographic and Visual Information Section of the United Nations Department of Public Information, are a very valuable source of information. For example, Picture Sheet 32 concerns an economic *Report from Latin America*. The pictures on this sheet are dramatic, attractive and informative. They are suitable for projecting on a screen in an opaque projector. There is only one drawback. If one cuts up the picture sheet one sacrifices the pictures on one or the other side which are part of the story and just as valuable as others. Two copies of each sheet might solve the problem.

The United Nations—Its Record and Prospects

Written by A. M. Rosenthal, *New York Times* correspondent covering the United Nations, this pamphlet appraises the United Nations' eight year record. The pamphlet was prepared for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and is published by the Manhattan Publishing Company.

Mr. Rosenthal reviews the United Nations' participations in the Korean war, its stopping four other regional wars, its concern with the welfare of dependent peoples and its social and economic accomplishments.

Beautifully illustrated throughout, the front inside cover shows the United Nations headquarters and the New York skyline and the back inside cover presents pictures in blue and white of eight United Nations stamps.

UNITED NATIONS POSTAGE STAMPS

The United Nations Postal Administration has been established to issue and use United Nations postage stamps. Their purpose is to serve as reminders of the aims and ideals of the United Nations and its organs to the peoples of the world.

A pamphlet issued by the United Nations Postal administration illustrates about twelve United Nations stamps with a brief description of each, a note of its designer, manufacturer, its denominations and color, date of issue and marginal inscriptions.

These are interesting to persons concerned with the history of the United Nations as well as to stamp collectors and philatelists.

Films and Filmstrips Released by the U. N.

In honor of October 24th as United Nations Day, the United Nations has released a filmstrip, "This is United Nations Day," showing what the United Nations means to people in many countries and how October 24th is observed in places all over the world.

Special teaching notes are provided with each copy of the filmstrip which is available from McGraw-Hill Book Company at \$3.00 a print.

The United Nations pamphlets on recent additions to United Nations films are illustrated, annotated guides to available films. The title of each film is followed by a statement of the number of reels, its running time, rental fee, and sale price and description of the film's content.

RADIO AND THE U. N.

The United Nations also distributes a *Radio Handbook for Teachers*. It mentions radio schedules, follow-up activities for secondary schools and suggestions for obtaining source materials from recordings, radio, television and printed matter.

UNESCO

UNESCO, one of the United Nations specialized agencies, has as its aim the deepening of international understanding in order to attain lasting peace.

UNESCO fights ignorance, promotes better understanding, improves living conditions, studies tensions, assists creative workers, reduces barriers to ideas and pools knowledge. (UNESCO—National Commission for Unesco, Washington 25, D. C.)

Benjamin Fine, Educational Editor of the *New York Times*, (Sunday, September 20, 1953), in an article on UNESCO, evaluates the attacks made upon UNESCO and explains its contributions.

Among the former are charges that UNESCO is influenced by Communists; that it advocates political world-government; that it seeks to undermine the loyalty of Americans to their government and their flag; that it seeks to indoctrinate American school children with ideas that are contrary to American ideals and that it seeks to do this by influencing teachers and placing materials, such as textbooks, in the classrooms of America; and that UNESCO is atheistic or anti-religion.

All these charges, Fine states, are untrue.

Among the advantages of UNESCO to the United States he mentions the following:

"Seminars and technical assistance missions in the scientific and educational fields help make the American way of life understood abroad.

"Through UNESCO's initiative, international agreements have been adopted by many countries to abolish customs duties on books, newspapers, magazines, educational films, works of art and all articles of education for the blind.

"UNESCO makes available to American radio stations a number of educational programs. UNESCO also makes available to American groups, art centers and schools, reproductions of the great paintings of the world, from the great masters of modern art.

"UNESCO is promoting the translations of the great works of literature, including those of American authors."

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia

The Americas in History. By Harold E. Davis. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1953. Pp. xiv, 878. \$7.50.

The basic principle underlying this book is stated in its opening sentence—"the Americas are one and they have a common history." The Americas are Canada, the United States, and the Latin American states; and the basic principle holds that these nations have shared "many common experiences in one of the greatest ventures of the human spirit—the creation of a New World." These common experiences make it possible for the historian to find certain overall developments common to the histories of these various states—common developments which transcend in importance the diversities which exists among them. This provides the basis for an interpretation of American history as the history of the Americas, which may have been neglected too long by many historians but which, at last, is being accorded serious attention by numerous college instructors.

Dr. Davis suggests that the history of the Americas is an epic founded upon the fusion of four elements—the physical environment and the contributions of the Indians, the Negroes and the Europeans. This fusion was accomplished through the operation of a number of historical processes: the exploration and occupation of the land, the subjugation of the native inhabitants by European invaders and their gradual assimilation into a Christian, European civilization; the establishment of Negro slavery and the gradual emancipation of that race; the movement for national independence which developed into the modern democratic surge to political, social and economic equality; the gradual achievement of national stability; and finally the growth of an inter-American movement. None of these processes are to be considered as complete; perhaps the most important have been those lead-

ing to the establishment of the American national states and the emergence of a consciousness of hemispheric interests.

A brief glance at the chapter arrangement of Part IV of this book suggests the nature of the synthesis which Dr. Davis has attempted. This section discusses the achievement of political stability and the emergence of democratic and nationalist movements in the American state from 1825 to 1870. The first chapter describes conditions in these nations in 1825 with emphasis upon the influence of the frontier—a force which operated in Canada and the Argentine as well as in the United States. Each of the following four chapters considers developments in the internal histories of the United States, various Latin American nations and Canada respectively. This is followed by a chapter which discusses the struggle of the United States, Mexico, Peru and Chile against the interventionist policies of several European governments in the decade 1860-1870. The final chapter describes the elaboration of the Monroe Doctrine which took place from 1823 to 1867. This organization might prove fruitful to the American student for several reasons. First, it enlarges his understanding of the contributions which the Indian and Negro have made to the development of civilization in the American states. Second, it enables him to view the great movements in the history of the United States, not as unique to his own country, but as common to the experiences of the several American nations. Third, it teaches him the importance of the relations among the various American states. Finally, it leads him to a sympathetic understanding of the diversities which have and still do exist among these nations.

Of the thirty-three chapters only nine are devoted primarily to a consideration of the significant epochs in the history of the United States, while nine are concerned with a study of developments in the Latin American states,

and three describe the progress of the Canadian people to political independence and social and economic maturity. Several later chapters describe the emergence of inter-American relationships and the impact of depression and world war upon the Americas in recent years.

An instructor does not really know the value of a new textbook until he has actually used it for a time in one of his classes. For this reason it is always difficult to recommend a new textbook which one has not used in a teaching situation. Still this book has much to justify a favorable recommendation: splendid organization of a large mass of material, a readable style, and above all, a synthesis which should do much to broaden our understanding of the larger American world in which we live.

MAHLON H. HELLERICH

Towson State Teachers College
Towson, Maryland

Modern Foreign Governments. By Frederic A. Ogg and Harold Zink. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1953. Pp. xi, 1005. \$6.25.

The field of "comparative government," "governments and politics abroad," or of "comparative political institutions" is in a chaotic state, since there is no common agreement what governments or what areas of politics should be included in such a course—and that means, therefore, also in a reputable textbook. But the field is obviously profitable, since there has been a growing number of texts trying to cover the field. One can safely say that the present publication is just another run-of-the-mill product, undistinguished and but another product of the late Ogg (whose publications were quite popular two decades ago but are really on the "has been" list today). Why Professor Zink has decided to revise Ogg rather than to write his own book is really a mystery. What the latest trends stress is less the collection of facts on formal governmental framework and more on the contemporary dynamics of all social processes as related to political processes. In this respect there is a growing mass of researches available, many of which are noted here in Zink but very few of which are really digested and integrated with the original treatment.

At any rate, England has been given the first

place; then come the sections on France, Germany, Scandinavia, the U.S.S.R., Argentina and Japan. Italy and China have not been included. Yugoslavia, Spain, or Portugal are not covered here, although they could easily be considered as representative types of their own brands of political system.

At best, the work is a handy reference book.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

University of Bridgeport
Bridgeport, Connecticut

Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change. By H. G. Barnett. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953. Pp. xi, 462. \$6.50.

Though social change has been one of the principal concepts employed by social scientists, most of the theories offered as explanations have been particularistic. *Innovation* attempts a really comprehensive theory, basically psychological.

An innovation is defined as "any thought, behavior, or thing that is new because it is qualitatively different from existing forms." The author makes the concept as broad as human adjustment itself, including even such things as the left-handed person's writing techniques.

The principles advanced are seen as applying, regardless of time or place, to any cultural change. For source data, the author has drawn on a religious cult (the Indian Shakers of Washington) and five ethnic groups (three Indian tribes, Palauans, and contemporary Americans). Three parts of the book deal respectively with the setting—mainly cultural background—the incentives, and the processes in innovation. Part Four is a thorough analysis of acceptance and rejection, matters of equal importance with invention in cultural change.

Much of the discussion is on the level of abstract theory, which is hereby advanced, but general readers and advanced students can profit greatly from the generalizations and the many interesting details. There is no bibliography, nor any mention of *Technological Trends and National Policy*, the National Resources Committee's important study.

WAYNE C. NEELY

Hood College
Frederick, Maryland

Bolivia—Land, People and Institutions. By Olen E. Leonard. Washington, D. C.: The Scarecrow Press, 1952. Pp. 297. \$6.00.

This useful monograph on a rather neglected Latin American republic is the product of an unusual publishing venture. The Scarecrow Press is dedicated to the publishing (in limited editions) of outstanding manuscripts of a scholarly nature which, because of rising costs, might not find a publisher elsewhere. Scarecrow has found a way—almost miraculous, one would think—of letting these valuable works see the light of day, at a profit which it generously shares with its authors. Dr. Leonard's book does not seem quite to fit the specifications which Scarecrow sets for itself since it appears to this reviewer to justify a much larger edition than is usually envisaged by these publishers.

The book is the product of two years' study in Bolivia and of a dozen years devoted to studies of Latin American countries. The author, who is Professor of Sociology at Michigan State University, applies the related technical apparatus of anthropology, geography and sociology to an analysis of the basic institutions and problems which condition Bolivian life. Facts on population, vital statistics, regionalism, land tenure, the family, education, religion, and government are analyzed. Combined into a striking stereotype of the Bolivian Indian, they make an arresting picture of degradation and help to explain the persistent social disorganization from which the country has suffered. The materials have been treated with such skill that they speak for themselves, even to the lay reader. The author has largely eschewed interpretive comment.

The text is liberally illuminated with photographs, tables and graphs which add greatly to the impact of the material.

HERBERT A. CROSMAN

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Europe in the Seventeenth Century. By David Ogg. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. Pp. 576. \$4.50.

This is the sixth edition of a work which, first published in 1925, has been highly regarded ever since, and has found its way to

the shelves of many a library and to the bookcases of many history teachers. The new edition contains few changes from that which preceded it; it is substantially the mixture as before.

It is the mixture we have come to expect from British scholars. Sound learning balanced with humane values and presented with agreeable style are the ingredients. This work contains all of these qualities, and in sufficient quantities to allow it to go on into many more editions.

Perhaps some of the strength of the book comes from the fact that it is not a text in the American sense of the word. Text book writing in the United States has led to the appearance of fatter and fatter compendiums of knowledge, so much so that the physical bulk of many a tome threatens to outweigh vastly the bulk of learning contained therein. Such books may not improve the students' minds, but carrying them will make or break their physique. This work is not in that group. The author has been selective. Since the work was written with the British reader chiefly in mind, there is no discussion of seventeenth century British history. Nor is there any inclusion of the colonial activities of the European nations. On the other hand, a substantial portion of the work is devoted to a presentation of the Jansenist controversy in France, perhaps the most interesting part of the book. While editorial policy doubtless lay behind some of these omissions and emphases, the interests of the author seem also apparent, and give the work the flavor of personality frequently lacking in the larger, collaborative works of American text book publishing.

DONALD C. GORDON

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

American Beginnings: Highlights and Side-lights of the Birth of the New World. By Jarvis M. Morse. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1952. Pp. xii, 260. \$3.75.

This book is a review of chronicles and contemporary historical writings that deal with British America from the period of discovery to the mid-eighteenth century. It is essentially a reference book, useful for its coverage of sources. As such, it represents a great deal of

painstaking labor and makes a contribution to the historian's library.

As Dr. Luther Evans, Librarian of the Library of Congress, points out in his introduction, the volume is considerably more than an annotated bibliography. The author fills in some of the circumstances under which the works he discusses were written. He imparts an idea of their contents and general "flavor." The principal value of the book, however, is that it assembles under one cover a multitude of references to travel narratives and contemporary accounts that one would otherwise learn about only with difficulty and considerable research. The book will be particularly useful to the specialist in early American History.

E. JAMES FERGUSON

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

International Politics. By Frederick L. Schuman. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953. Pp. xviii, 577. \$6.00.

It has been a real pleasure to watch the evolution of Schuman's thinking in regard to international relations through the successive editions of this well-known text. While his former four editions tended, in a hazy way, to overstress the liberal approach to the "awful truth of politics," especially when dealing with the recent decades of Central-Eastern and Russian Europe, the present edition concludes that the present situation is due to "the Communist conspiracy and the American resolve to defend the Free World against Red totalitarianism." At the same time, Schuman has retained his remarkable grasp of the philosophical trends of history needed to sustain his over-all approach to the development of the Western state system within the framework of genetic forces. For that reason, his book is more than just a textbook specializing in International Relations; it is a brilliant survey of such delightful topics as "The Pattern of History," "The Riddle of Civilization," an introduction to origins of the modern world powers, an analysis of the ways and means whereby states deal with each other, the

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dynamics (the politics of power, nationalism, and imperialism) of power relationships, and an invitation to consider the challenges of Fascism, Communism, and of the concept of "One World."

The treatment is, however, not without several limitations. The student using the work will certainly have to have a basic training in history and other social sciences in order to plough through the innumerable facts crowding many pages; in fact, in this respect, Schuman's publication is often more of an encyclopaedia than a textbook. Although the field of "Geopolitics" is approached on pp. 276-279, the "area" section (at the end of the work) is really but a diplomatic history having too little of the geopolitical realities involved. The bibliographies ("Suggested Readings") often have no particular rhyme or reason; see, for instance, 13 references covering the whole field of "red conspiracy" (pp. 455-456), but 44 references (pp. 244-246) on "Order Among Nations;" and many standard works are not noted. To reprint the "Charter of the United

Nations" and the "Covenant of the League of Nations"—reprinted in so many places and so many times—is a poor waste of paper, helping to raise the price of the publication to \$6.00.

Yet, the book is an outstanding introduction to the field known as "International Relations," thanks to its ability to introduce the reader to the reality of power relations within the sweep of historical philosophy which, if anything, is characteristic of the problems that the world is facing today.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

University of Bridgeport
Bridgeport, Connecticut

Can Russia Survive? By F. B. Czarnomski.
New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. Pp. xii, 128. \$2.75.

Russia can only survive, according to the author, if the Russians succeed in ousting their present regime. Since most Russians, in his opinion, are thoroughly disgusted with it, they are eager and ready to overthrow it. Basing his views on numerous interviews with refugees from behind the Iron Curtain, he concludes that it has no popular support whatsoever, and only maintains itself by resorting to terroristic methods. In other words, he insists that "Soviet power is a hollow bluff, that Russia is suffering from indescribable want, that her manpower is exhausted and that, behind the facade of toughness presented to the outside world, there lies a vast, bleeding, pauperized country..." (p. 19).

To prove that the Soviet regime is solely "bluff," he briefly summarizes its record during the past three decades. He finds that every one of its basic policies,—whether economic, social, or religious—has resulted in dismal, tragic, and costly failure. In fact, he goes so far as to insist that it does not have a single positive achievement to its record,—not even a minor one. For anyone to believe otherwise, he concludes, is to fall prey to Soviet propaganda.

What can be done by the West to help the suffering masses of the U.S.S.R. to undermine the Soviet regime? The author proposes a number of measures. For one thing, there should be "an international convention for the suppression of Soviet spies and agents, who are fostering unrest in the free world..."

(p. 124). Another measure, which should be taken without delay, would be the formation of a Free Russian Government outside the frontiers of Soviet Russia. Such a government would "revive the hopes of the Russian people, keep them informed by all available means of what is happening in the free world outside, and, on the other hand, look after the welfare of scores of thousands of deserters and refugees from the Soviet Empire." (p. 125). Most important of all, it might bring about the collapse of the Soviet system from within.

This book does not pretend to be a scholarly survey of the U.S.S.R. On the contrary, it is a "black and white" interpretation of Russian history since 1917, and confines itself exclusively to a bitter denunciation of the Soviet regime.

RICHARD H. BAUER

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Strikes: A Study in Industrial Conflict. By K. G. J. C. Knowles. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. xv, 330. \$8.75.

This scholarly, carefully delimited British study makes a real contribution to its field. It covers British experience between 1911 and 1947, selects strikes as only one form of industrial unrest, and relies heavily on statistics. It is thus a pin-pointed scientific study, not a complete picture, of industrial conflict; nationalization, political background, and personal leadership are largely excluded.

Part A—The Background of Strikes—deals with the nature of strikes and includes considerable history of British industrialism. Part B—Causes and Effects of Strikes—presents an excellent analysis of surface causes and effects, and, especially, of those that lie deep in history, culture, and community relationships. The chapter on causes deals also with the character of different industries, the role of women, and regional variations. That on effects deals mainly with economic effects.

Much can be learned about the respective "ways of life" of industrial groups and the infinite implications for strikes: e.g., huddling of miners in homogeneous communities, while railroad workers live scattered about; opportunities for craftsmanship retained by small

scale builders; alternative types of employment open to clothing workers in off seasons.

Hardly for general readers, this is an excellent reference for students of economic history, industrial relations, statistics, and sociology.

WAYNE C. NEELY

Hood College
Frederick, Maryland

Elements of American Foreign Policy. By Leonard Larry Leonard. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953. Pp. xvi, 611. \$6.00.

This work is largely a collection of the writings of various authorities and selections from official publications, hoping to serve as a basic textbook rather than a supplementary book of "readings." The contents cover the character of American foreign policy, the constitutional framework, the making of American foreign policy, and the substance of American foreign relations. In general, the author has tried to present contemporary American foreign policy in historical perspective, with an analysis of the process by which policies are made and the significance of process for policy.

It is really unfair to criticize any book, composed primarily of "readings." What should have been included, and what has been left out, is one of the questions which will never be solved on any rational basis in the work of this kind.

As far as this reviewer is concerned, this compilation is quite limited in its selection of the material, deficient in its basic formula, and too formalistic in its actual execution.

In the first place, most selections consist of the official documents (the reports of the Presidents, Congress, various Committees, etc.); since these documents can be easily secured from the Government Printing Office, one can justify their reprinting here only for the sake of convenience. But, what is even worse, the author fails to make the basic distinction between the official language involved and the realities of power politics. To cite an example, the "Truman Doctrine" (reprinted here, pp. 298-300) is a beautiful exposition of numerous lofty principles; but this document does not mention directly at all the motivating element

behind the doctrine—the U.S.S.R. Maybe hints are enough for the more informed! Above all, there is quite a difference between the pronouncements of the Trumans, Roosevelts, Washingtons, Churchills and other key men, and the basic factors involved.

The perspective of the editor is also, frankly, not too happy a one. He devotes one section to "The Defense of Western Europe," another to "Toward Security in Asia and the Pacific," and a very small one to "Ferment in the Near East." But what has happened to the Central-Eastern-Balkan Europe, the most important "no man's land" in Eurasia, next to Asia? It is limited to three selections injected into the section entitled "The Crisis with the Soviet Union"! To stretch this point a little further, one of the most fateful decisions known to American foreign policy, the Yalta agreement, is noted only on pp. 55, 388 and 400 (according to the Index). To the reviewer, a reprint of one of the numerous analyses of the Yalta agreement would be more beneficial than numerous portions given to Bernard M. Baruch, Lawrence Duggan, or Cordell Hull.

Finally, the formal and legalistic tendency evident in the editorial job is too old-fashioned to make the reviewer satisfied with this end-product. In recent years, the treatment of International Relations has been more concerned with the "awful truth of politics"—the description of "Realpolitik,"—rather than with ideological pronouncements and smoke-screens. And, even more recently, stress on the geopolitical factors has clarified to a remarkable degree the global role that the United States has failed but will have to play in the atomic age. For instance, Hans J. Morgenthau has done a lot in this respect to reorganize our thinking; but I have been unable to find his writings noted here—not to speak of several others.

All in all, those who want an old-fashioned and stereotyped approach to the topic, here is their book. Those concerned with world realities will consider this book quite limited in its appeal.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

University of Bridgeport
Bridgeport, Connecticut

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The role of the electrical manufacturing industry in the nation's economy and defense mobilization was chosen as the topic for the third Industrial Council.

Approximately 200 leaders in 50 electrical manufacturing corporations acted as hosts at the conference of more than 600 social studies teachers representing cities from every state in the United States.

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note speaker and then followed by six panel discussions with about 100 teachers assigned to each panel.

Dr. Ray Palmer Baker vice-president of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute is the director of the Industrial Council and he deserves a great amount of credit in arranging these programs for social studies teachers.

Previous sessions have been conducted on the petroleum and chemical industries. Copies of the final reports of the sessions may be obtained by writing to Dr. Ray P. Baker, Director Industrial Council, Troy, New York.

ARTICLES

"Youth and the Truce," *U. S. News and World Report*, August 7, 1953.

"Deferment for High School Students," *School Life*, June 1953.

"Why Europe Recognizes Mao," by George W. Herald, *United Nations World*, July 1953.

"Keeping Calm," by Walter E. Myer, *The American Observer*, September 21, 1953.

BOOK NOTES

Democratic Citizenship in Today's World. By A. Elwood Adams and Edward Everett Walker. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953. Pp. xviii, 364. \$2.20.

This civics book designed for use in the Junior High School has four centers of emphasis. The first of these ideas is expressed in a study of the community.

The second phase is devoted to social control and progress through government.

The third part of the book is used to develop interest in vocational opportunities and preparation for life's work.

The fourth phase of the book develops the ideas of working and planning together with chapters on Protection of Life and Property, Recreation, Community Planning, Conservation of Resources, Standard of Living and Our World Neighbors.

Teachers of the Social Studies in Junior High Schools will find this text well organized and presenting a theme that will hold the interest of pupils.

The vocabulary to remember at the end of each chapter is noteworthy.

The Questions to Answer, Problems and suggested Floor Talks at the end of the chapters are excellent for class use.

NOTES ON CURRENT BOOKS

Elementary Social Studies Instruction. By Maurice P. Moffatt and Hazel W. Howell. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1952. Pp. xv, 486. \$4.25.

A text that should be a practical guide for all elementary teachers, both those in training and those in service. Emphasis is placed on the Social Studies in relation to child growth and development. The book is based on sound research and concrete experiences in actual teaching-learning situations.

Economics For You and Me. By Arthur Upgren and Stahrl Edmunds. New York: The Mac-

millan Company, 1953. Pp. xxvi, 246. Price \$4.00.

Unlike so many popular economic books, this book does not deal with theories or principles. The story of how the economy works is told by illustrations, facts and human situations. How and why the ups and downs in prosperity take place is shown by discussing the everyday events, causes and effects.

Teachers of the Social Studies will find this book practical and very useful.

The National Society for the Study of Education. Part I. Fifty-second Yearbook, Edited by Nelson B. Henry. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. xvi, 316. \$2.75.

This yearbook is devoted to adapting the secondary-school program to the needs of youth.

This study deserves the attention of all teachers in the secondary field of instruction.

Role Playing, The Problem Story. By George and Fannie R. Shaftel. An approach to Human Relations in the classroom. Price 25 cents. The National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Communism and Christianity. By Emil A. Grefthen. Public Affairs Press, 2153 Florida Avenue, Washington 8, D. C.

Labor and Industry in Britain. A quarterly review of Economic and Social Development. Volume Number 3, September, 1952 British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

Institute of Consumer Problems. A report on the conference sponsored by Consumer Union and Kansas State College, Volume 17, Number 9 Consumer Reports.

The Iron Curtain and American Policy. By Kurt Glaser. Public Affairs Press, 2153 Florida Avenue, Washington, D. C. Price \$1.00.

How to Take A Test. By Joseph C. Heston. Science Research Associates Incorporated, 57 West Grand Avenue, Chicago 10, Ill. Price \$.40 each.

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The Racial Integrity of the American Negro.

By A. H. Shannon. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1953. Pp. x, 262. \$3.25.

In Spite of, A Philosophy for Every Man. By John Cowper Powys. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. Pp. x, 312. \$5.00.

An exposition in philosophy written in the author's eightieth year.

The Presidential Election Reforms. Edited by Walter M. Daniel. New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1953. Pp. 200. \$1.75. *The Reference Shelf*, Volume xxv, Number 4.

An interesting book that contains answers to present government problems.

New York City Old and New. By Caroline D. Emerson. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Incorporated, 1953. Pp. xxxv, 261. \$3.50.

A fitting book for New York's three-hundredth anniversary.

Lobbyist For the People. By Benjamin C. Marsh. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1953. Pp. xiv, 224. \$3.00.

Description of how the people's lobby functions in Washington, D. C.

The Social Theories of Harry Stack Sullivan. By Dorothy R. Blitsen. New York: William-Frederick Press, 1953. Pp. viii, 186. \$3.50.

The Study of Human Nature. By David Lindsay Watson. Yellow Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Press, 1953. Pp. xii, 262. \$3.50.

Action Research to Improve School Practices. By Stephen M. Corey. New York: Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1953. Pp. viii, 161. \$3.00.

A book to help educators design and carry out their own action research studies.

Complete United States History. By Frank D. Whalen and Wilson Parkhill. New York: Noble and Noble, 1953. Pp. lvii, 739. \$2.75.

This text is accurate, complete and written in simple language that the pupils can easily comprehend and enjoy.

Our Changing Social Order. By Ruth Wood

Gavian, A. A. Gray and Ernest R. Groves. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1953. Pp. xxxiv, 616. \$3.60.

Revised and up to the usual high standard.

Economics For Our Times. By Augustus E. Smith and S. Howard Patterson. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Incorporated, 1953. Pp. xxxvi, 553. \$3.72.

Revised and always a favorite with Economics teachers.

A Free Society. By Mark H. Heald. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. Pp. x, 540. \$4.75.

A timely and comprehensive analysis of the doctrines of liberal democracy.

The Constitution of the United States. By Frank A. Rexford and Clara L. Carson. New York: American Book Company, 1952. Pp. xx, 190. \$2.00.

This Government of Ours. By Jack Allen and Fremont P. Wirth. New York: American Book Company, 1953. Pp. xxv, 600. \$2.00.

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